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WHAT LA FOLLETTE'S STATE IS DOING

By

Chester C. Platt

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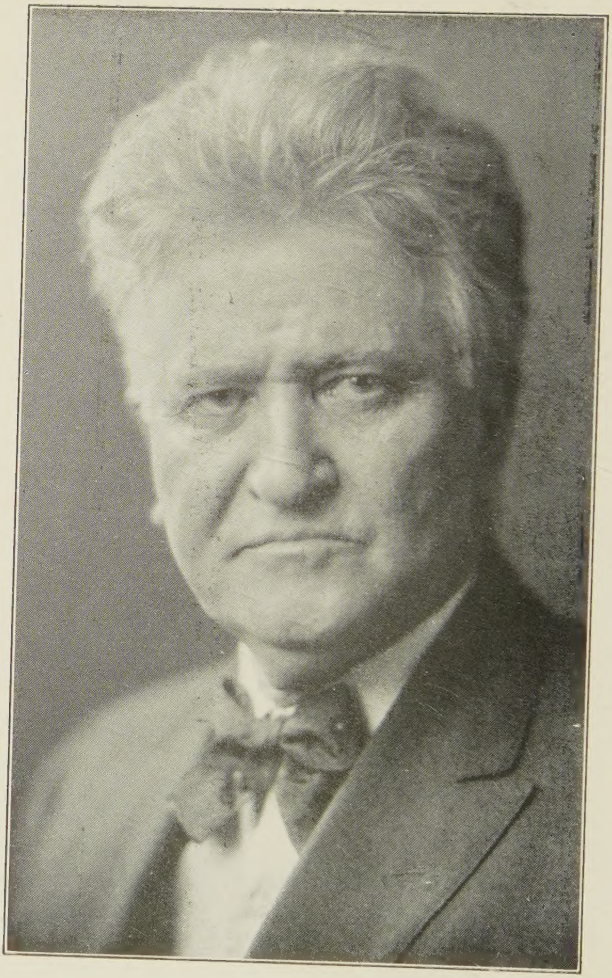

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

WHAT LA FOLLETTE'S STATE IS DOING

Some Battles Waged for More Freedom

By

CHESTER C. PLATT

State Manager, Wisconsin Nonpartisan League

TO THE STATES

To the States or any one of them, or any city of the States,
RESIST MUCH, OBEY LITTLE,
Once unquestioning obedience, once fully enslaved,
Once fully enslaved, no nation, state, city of this earth, ever afterward resumes its liberty.

—WALT WHITMAN.

BATAVIA TIMES PRESS
BATAVIA, N. Y.
1924

TO MY WIFE
Who has helped me I dedicate this book

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PREFACE

Under the auspices of the National Student Forum I recently paid a visit to several eastern colleges. I spoke on the liberal movements in the social, political and educational life of Wisconsin, addressing the Harvard Liberal Club, the History Club of Hunter college, the Contemporary Club of Union Theological Seminary, the Political Association at Vassar, besides groups of students at the Rand school and the Brookwood labor college at Kotonah, New York.

Everywhere I found a peculiar and eager interest in this state. "Incredible Wisconsin!" exclaimed one young man, in the discussion which followed one of my first talks—so I took that for a title for the rest of them. La Follette's come-back, Kate Richards O'Hare's reception at the state capitol, the close association between organized farmers and organized labor, the almost complete disappearance of the Democratic party, the election of its principal state officers by the Nonpartisan League in the first campaign in which it engaged, are some of the many things which have been called incredible, but which have really happened here, and which I recounted to the student groups mentioned, and which I propose to tell again more fully in this volume.

Youth is the hope of the world. Only its sublime audacity dares meet with confidence the age-long world-wide problem of bringing the worth-while things of life to all. Youth has unselfishness, aspirations, dreams, (illusions, too, perhaps) which makes it listen with a kindling eye to things which age often greets with a cold and fishy stare.

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And nowhere has youth asserted itself more hopefully than in our colleges and universities where voluntary student organizations, like the Social Science Club of the University of Wisconsin, challenge the standardized teachings of established curriculums, which are so well calculated to perpetuate much of the evil and injustice of present-day society. These organizations function by encouraging the discussion of certain phases of social, political and economic questions which most college authorities frown upon and seek to suppress.

Eleven years ago Dr. Frederick C. Howe published an illuminating book entitled "Wisconsin, an Experiment in Democracy." This volume will treat a number of the subjects discussed by Dr. Howe, and will show how much progress we have made in some directions, and how little in others. For although Wisconsin is justly known as a pioneer in many progressive reform movements, yet nowhere have such movements been resisted with more skill or power. A number of good things which Dr. Howe thought were on the eve of accomplishment are still in the future, and possibly in the far distant future, as for instance, the initiative, referendum and recall. When he wrote, constitutional amendments for the initiative, referendum and recall had been approved by the legislature, but they failed to be approved by the people at the election following. Yet the struggle for this fundamental reform has been carried on at each session of the legislature since 1912, and the present legislature has again passed concurrent reso-

lutions providing for the submission of initiative and referendum amendments.

George Bernard Shaw says, if the other planets in our system are inhabited it must be that the earth is used as an insane asylum. It does sometimes seem so, but I hope to show in this volume that in Wisconsin we are not quite so crazy as are the people of other states.

At the basis of the liberal movements in Wisconsin is the demand for human freedom. De Tocqueville said, the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy. So Wisconsin liberals say, the cure for the evils of freedom is more freedom, and in the *increase of knowledge* they have found the safe and sure pathway to freedom.

Wisconsin's battles for more freedom have, of course, been battles with monopoly in its various forms, and with the instruments which the beneficiaries of monopoly use to perpetuate their power.

America was founded by liberals, who believed not only in free speech and in religious freedom, but in the right of revolution. Wisconsin pioneers were liberals. The liberal is the true one hundred per cent. American. This volume will show that Wisconsin liberals have made this state one of the best governed in the Union, and the progressive reforms adopted here have promoted and not hindered the commercial prosperity of the commonwealth. And besides they have made Wisconsin a most interesting and inspiring state to live in. Nothing is so deadly dull and repressive as the conservatism which seeks to keep all things as they are.

In the last chapter of the book I have shown that Wisconsin has had a low rate of commercial and bank failures, that there has been a great growth in savings invested in building and loan associations, and a prodigious increase in manufacturing.

However, material prosperity is by no means a true index of the real and substantial worth of a commonwealth any more than it is of the worth of an individual.

John Ruskin says it is impossible for a well-educated, intellectual or brave man to make money the chief object of his thoughts. So, too, it is impossible for the people of an intelligent commonwealth to make commercial prosperity the touch stone of progress.

How wealth is distributed is the more important thing. Does it go to those who really earn it? A smaller aggregate production would be a blessing if the total were more equitably distributed.

To a great extent I have made this book partake of the nature of a documentary history of Wisconsin battles for more freedom and a broader and happier life. I do not like foot notes, so I have used none. They are defined as "matter which would interrupt the thought if printed with the text", but I have always found my thoughts most interrupted by looking up notes at the foot of pages, or in an appendix. So I have put all I have to offer on a subject in the text of my book. In my quotations, which are extensive, I give my readers some of the most important history-making utterances of Wisconsin liberals in their own vigorous language, and I also quote verbatim the language in which some of the

progressive movements of Wisconsin have been attacked by their enemies.

In short it has been my aim to hold a mirror up to both the progressive and reactionary forces of the state, and to reflect exactly what they have been doing.

I am indebted to E. E. Witte of the legislative reference library, to Miss Irma E. Hochstein, and to other members of the efficient corps of assistants at the library for most of the matter contained in my last chapter, and for supplying various documents quoted in other chapters.

This book is by no means an attempt to recount all the good things Wisconsin is doing, but only those things which are particularly interesting on account of being unique and unusual. Numerous state departments, like that of public health, for instance, are doing excellent and highly important work, but so far as I know, standardized work, such as everybody might expect, and hence not so interesting as the things I quote and write about.

I have entitled my book "What La Follette's State is Doing" because Zona Gale is right when she says:

"La Follette's story is one of the great romances of Wisconsin. His battles have been fought in state after state, but in Wisconsin it was pioneer ground, and principally a one-man conflict".

And Frederic C. Howe said:

"The moral and political forces which La Follette set in motion have remained the forces which have animated the subsequent building of the state".

My book recounts the present-day functioning of those forces.

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CHAPTER I.

Part-Time Schools.

Wisconsin has been a pioneer in educational enterprises, the most important of which is part-time schools for boys and girls who have been forced (usually by poverty) to take up bread-winning vocations before they have even had a chance to get a high school education. If there is anything that our average Mr. Babbitt grows chesty about, it is the wonderful educational opportunities afforded to all in America. And yet statistics show that in the United States only ten per cent of pupils who enter our schools reach even the first year of high school. In Wisconsin the average is better, yet scandalously low. Here 25 per cent of those who enter our schools get into the high schools.

Part-time schools were established in this state by law in 1911. Wisconsin was the first state to establish them. The misleading term vocational education is often applied to them. But the main purpose of our part-time schools is not to teach a vocation, but rather to supply boys and girls who are forced to leave school at 14 years of age with at least some of the education they might have obtained if the average head of the family were prosperous enough to enjoy the luxury of giving his children a high school, if not a college education. Vocational training is only one of the several courses offered in our part-time schools.

Dr. Charles McCarthy, who was the founder of our legislative reference library, was also

the founder of our system of part-time schools, which has now grown to such a proportion that the City of Milwaukee has nearly completed a school building to be used exclusively for part-time education, which will cost three and a quarter million dollars. When completed it will be the largest building in the world, devoted exclusively to the education of the workers. Dr. McCarthy in justifying the initial stages of this work frequently said: "We are trying to do something where nothing had been done before." Milwaukee elected its first socialist mayor in 1909, and except for a period of two years has had a socialist mayor ever since, and one of the fruits of socialist government is this school building.

In 1922-23 13,000 girls and boys engaged in industry were enrolled in Milwaukee's part-time school. This is more than the number enrolled in all the high schools of the city, and almost twice as many as the number attending the state university. Support of the local part-time institutions has not been partisan, and this is due largely to the representative character of the boards governing them, employes as well as employers having places on such boards.

The Wisconsin Federation of Labor has been the backbone of part-time education. Many years ago the federation adopted a platform declaring for "general compulsory education to the age of 18 years, free education for all, and public support by furnishing text books, meals, clothing, etc., to the children in need, in all public educational institutions."

And in 1919 the Federation adopted an educational program in which it said:

"No child ought to leave school because he

Part-time School in Milwaukee. Cost $3,225,000.

Nursing Seminar

is bored; or because the system of education is not elastic enough to meet his needs. For this reason we would extend part-time compulsory education. There comes a time in the life of almost every child when he becomes dissatisfied with school life and wants to get out into what he considers the wider world to obtain experience. He should be safeguarded so far as possible when entering industry by giving him the vocational training that will secure his success, and the general training that will enable him to secure and enjoy the full product of his toil and all other rights of American citizenship. There should be appropriated annually a generous sum to be at the disposal of the board of vocational education for university and other scholarships to be given to such pupils of continuation or other schools as are desirous of continuing their education but are financially unable to do so. It should not be confined to those who want a four-year college course, but should be used liberally for those who want to take short, intensive courses."

It will be noticed that the labor men appreciate the truth of the saying that the great enemy of education is poverty.

England appreciates the need of giving its youth the opportunities which youth now have in Wisconsin. H. A. L. Fisher, minister of education in Great Britain says: "Amiable theorists constantly put out attractive schemes for the organization of public education, which are based upon the neglect of the unpleasant necessities of economic life. Other lands may be more fortunate than Great Britain. Here the vast majority of the children who attend the elementary schools must go out into the

world to earn a living after they have reached the age of fourteen. It is at this point that the age of compulsory instruction ceases with us, and it is an unfortunate point, seeing that a secondary school course should certainly begin two years or so earlier. To end compulsion at twelve would seriously lower the level of education; to continue it beyond fourteen would be passionately resisted by the poor. So we must reluctantly watch the spectacle of hundreds and thousands of children shutting up their books at the tender age of fourteen, and losing sometimes for many years, sometimes forever, all contact with the world of letters. It is true that some will hereafter find their way to an evening school to learn French or shorthand or accounting or economics, that others will attend a technical college or an adult school or a tutorial class organized for working folk by the universities. But these are a minority. The general mass of our children leave school at fourteen, never to return. Some become quite illiterate, others lose much of their slender stock of knowledge and it is difficult to overestimate the wastage in moral and intellectual tissue attributable to the general neglect of the problem of adolescence. Indeed, among the unsolved problems of democracy there is none graver. How paradoxical it seems to spend millions upon the education of children under 14 and then to stand by with folded arms while the results of that expenditure are dissipated during the very period of life which we regard as most propitious to intellectual development. My remedy was and is the day continuation school."

George P. Hambrecht.

State Director of Part-Time Education in Wisconsin. Mr. Hambrecht says:

"The part-time school for workers is the keystone of the arch of democratic education. Child labor without child opportunity is unjust and no state should permit it."

Wisconsin's first part-time school law provided only for four hours of school work per week up to 16 years of age. Now half-time is required up to 16 years and eight hours a week from 16 to 18 years during the day time. No other state, except New York, has so high a compulsory age limit, and Wisconsin is the only state requiring half-time school attendance between 14 and 16 years, as a condition precedent to securing a work permit.

After progressive legislation is enacted in Wisconsin, eternal vigilance is required to preserve it. At each session of the legislature since our part-time school law was enacted, efforts have been made to weaken it. It has been proposed to exempt from the operation of the law fourth-class cities, to make its application optional with all local boards of education or city councils, and to reduce the compulsory school age.

But these attacks have been successfully resisted. In his efforts to maintain the standards set up for these schools, Mr. George P. Hambrecht, the state director, has received the active support of the State Board of Vocational Education, especially of its executive committee, consisting of Mr. E. W. Schultz, one of the three employer members of the board and its president; Lieutenant-governor George F. Comings, farmer member; and Mr. J. H. McQuaid, labor member. The sympathy of Mr. John Callahan, himself formerly a state director, and now state superintendent of schools, and *ex-officio,* a member of the board has also been an important factor in the preservation and improvement of these schools.

Two other able and loyal defenders of the schools have been Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick,

formerly secretary of the State Board of Education and Mrs. Glenn P. Turner, formerly research assistant of this board, and now research assistant with the Board of Vocational Education.

One of the best features of the part-time school system of Wisconsin is its flexibility. The studies which the boys and girls pursue depend largely on their own choice, and upon the kind of work they expect to follow.

Another thing that has contributed to the success of the part-time school system is its separation from the other educational activities of the state, and its management by a state board composed of an equal number of farmers, employers and employes with the state superintendent of public instruction and a member of the industrial commission as members *ex-officio.*

In each of the cities maintaining a part-time school there is also a local board composed of representatives of employes and employers with the city superintendent of schools, *ex-officio.*

Forty-seven cities in the state maintain part-time schools and there has been an increase of sixteen cities during the past two years.

In the part-time schools, trade and industrial education is carried on together with a study of home economics, and related academic subjects. The day classes consist of part-time and all day students. Evening classes for those over 16 years of age are maintained in each of the 47 cities.

In addition to the state aid which is given to these part-time schools, the state receives federal aid. Stout institute at Menomonie is

an institution which trains teachers of trade and industrial classes and Wisconsin university trains teachers for home economics and agriculture and both receive federal aid for their work. In addition we have summer schools for teachers in the part-time schools, and training conferences.

An additional task, that of the rehabilitation and training of physically handicapped workmen for industrial usefulness, was placed under the administrative charge of the board in 1921. Since then the board has handled over 1,800 cases. The agency set in motion for rehabilitation work has brought a lasting blessing into the lives of a great many men and women who would otherwise struggle through life dependent on others because of physical disabilities beyond the control of the injured persons to remedy. In no field of investment are the dividends in satisfaction greater.

In defending part-time school contact for the workers, from attacks which are constantly made upon it, its advocates quote Lincoln as saying:

"Educated people must labor. Otherwise, education itself would become a positive and intolerable evil. No country can sustain in idleness more than a small percentage of its numbers. The great majority must labor at something productive. From these premises the problem springs, 'How can labor and education be the most satisfactorily combined?'

"By the 'mud-sill' theory it is assumed that labor and education are incompatible, and any practical combination of them impossible. According to that theory, a blind horse upon a tread-mill is a perfect illustration of what a

laborer should be—all the better for being blind, that he could not kick understandingly. According to that theory, the education of laborers is not only useless but pernicious and dangerous. In fact, it is, in some sort, deemed a misfortune that laborers should have heads at all. Those same heads are regarded as explosive materials, only to be safely kept in damp places as far as possible from that peculiar sort of fire which ignites them. A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of the 'mud-sill' advocates."

The wisest defenders of the part-time school system appreciate that it is at best only a poor makeshift for full-time education, and is to be commended and supported only as gradual steps toward general compulsory and free full-time education for all. The compulsory half-time school attendance for working children between 14 and 16 years of age is a decided step in advance.

This every state can well afford if it will shift taxation onto the unearned incomes of the great accumulators of wealth who are enjoying the profits of the monopolization of natural resources.

CHAPTER II.

The University of Wisconsin.

The University of Wisconsin for many years maintained an unsullied record for academic freedom. In 1894 its board of regents, after acquitting Dr. Richard T. Ely of its department of economics, of an absurd charge of economic heresy, adopted this resolution:

"We cannot for a moment believe that knowledge has reached its final goal, or that the present constitution of society is perfect. In all lines of investigation the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the paths of truth wherever they may be lead. Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe the great state of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found."

President Van Hise voiced the traditional free spirit of the Wisconsin of the days of John Bascom when he said:

"Nowhere in the world do free universities and despotism, either of might or of spirit develop peacefully side by side. In consequence of this unalterable fact, those who hold fixedly to the practices of the past have again and again denounced universities as a nursery of revolution. * * *

"As a matter of fact, the very reverse is the case, the universities which give free expression to progress are the safety valves of the nation. Only when wrongs go unredressed, only when the expanding aspirations of the people are repressed, do there follow revolution and anarchy."

During the war and since, The University of Wisconsin slipped back from its old time traditions, as did so many other universities. But it is coming back in response to the demands of the people, as voiced at the polls. The university is almost entirely supported by state funds raised by taxation. And this means that the legislature, as controlled by the people, controls the university.

In the campaign of 1914, Emanuel L. Philipp when a candidate for governor, had considerable to say about radicalism in the University of Wisconsin. The convention of 1914 at which he was nominated adopted a platform, one plank of which contained a protest against socialism being taught at the university. "The minds of students" said this plank, "should be kept free from its misleading theories". The platform-framers, you see, did not want the students even to find out what socialism means.

But Governor Philipp had not been in office long before he saw a great light, and appreciated that the university instead of being a hot-bed for radicalism, was rather a bulwark for conservatism, and for the reactionary policies which he so ably and adroitly advocated. He consequently put the soft pedal on all his campaign criticisms of the university, and before he went out of office was an advocate of more liberal appropriations for the university than it had ever before enjoyed.

It would indeed be a reproach to the progressive movement in Wisconsin if after the tremendous victory at the polls in the fall of 1922 the management of university affairs, and the decision of university policies, should be left in the hands of a board of regents, a ma-

jority of whom were appointed by Governor Philipp.

In electing progressive candidates to the legislature of 1923 by such a large majority, our representatives felt that they had a mandate from the people to democratize and liberalize the board of university regents. The progressive platform of 1920 and the Nonpartisan League platform of that year declared for farmer-labor representation on all educational boards, and the governor's message of 1921 said:

"I believe that there will be greater efficiency, and a larger viewpoint will be commanded if there is a specific provision of law requiring representation of farmers, workmen and women on our educational administrative boards. Wherever the vital interests of a large per cent of our people are affected, these interests should be represented on administrative bodies, in order to bring to the service of the state the vision and knowledge of people from these callings and occupations, which constitute the basic callings and occupations of the state."

In accordance with the progressive platform, and the governor's declaration, a bill introduced by Senator Severson was enacted in 1923 providing for the appointment of two additional members at large to the board of regents, and further providing that of the four members at large, two shall always be farmers and two shall be engaged in the manual trades.

The board of regents, as formerly constituted, was composed of thirteen members, one from each congressional district, two from the state at large and two ex-officio members, the two last mentioned being President Birge of

the University and Superintendent Callahan of the department of education. Of the thirteen appointive members, Governor Blaine had, before the passage of the Severson bill, appointed six, two of whom were farmers and two wage workers, so Wisconsin university is now controlled by a more liberal board of regents than that of any other American university. The enlargement of the board and the representative character of it, as now constituted, will undoubtedly as time passes be reflected in a liberalization of the faculty and of university policies.

There are about one thousand professors and instructors on the university faculty. During the war they almost unanimously lined up with the enemies of Senator La Follette in the effort which was then made to drive him from public life. At the time the senator was expelled from the Madison Club and condemned by resolutions of the legislature, a round robin was signed by the resident members of the university faculty of the rank of instructor and above, denouncing the senator for giving "aid and comfort to Germany and her allies."

A copy of this document was filed in the historical library on February 2, 1918. Senator Huber introduced a resolution in the legislature of 1923 which called upon the librarian to turn over this document to the superintendent of public property in order that he might "cause the same to be publicly destroyed by burning."

But other friends of Senator La Follette protested against this proposal as suggestive of the intolerance and persecutions of mediaeval times. So the resolution was withdrawn, and in place of it one was adopted which con-

demned the coercive methods used to get signatures to the round robin. It also said that members were "induced to sign under duress and intimidation", that the document was "an emanation of hate and malice," was "inspired by war profiteers and public enemies", and was "consequently a disgrace to the authors."

There was a project before the legislature to have a committee appointed with authority to send for witnesses, documents and correspondence, to investigate the extent to which intimidation and coercion were used to obtain signatures to the round robin, and also to learn full particulars as to the dismissal and demotion of professors and instructors who refused to sign. A resolution to have such a committee appointed was prepared by Assemblyman Minier. It also recited that a portrait of Senator La Follette which was placed in the so-called "Hall of Fame" at the university was removed, about the time the round robin was being circulated, and that its removal was said to have been ordered by the university commandant. The committee was directed to investigate this matter, to learn if possible whether the portrait had been destroyed, and if not, to recover it if possible and have it restored to its proper place.

As it was learned that Senator La Follette had objected to the passage of the Huber resolution, in its original form, Assemblyman Minier mistrusted that the senator might also object to his resolution, so it was never introduced.

As indicative of the extent to which the university has recently been dominated by reactionary and intolerant influences, the story of the dropping of George F. Comings from the

teaching force of the university is interesting, particularly because it indirectly led to his subsequent election to the office of lieutenant-governor.

Mr. Comings was for several years connected with the university extension work and was a lecturer at farm institutes conducted under university auspices. He was also a member of the Equity society, an organization which had had a most successful career in the state in the promotion of co-operative enterprises.

Mr. Comings attended a state convention of the Equity society at which he introduced a resolution in favor of amnesty for political prisoners. It aroused a spirited and somewhat acrimonious debate, and was finally laid on the table. Not content with this measure of success, the opponents of the resolution immediately started in to see if they could not take away Mr. Comings' job as a university lecturer. Letters were sent in to Dean Russell of the college of agriculture, to President Birge, and others protesting against Mr. Comings' action at the Equity Society meeting.

Although it was well understood that Mr. Comings attended the meeting simply because he was a member of the society, and that in no way did he assume to represent the university, yet the university authorities called on him to give an account of himself, and after considerable correspondence, he was dropped from the university force of lecturers.

Here is the text of Mr. Comings' resolution:

"Whereas hostilities with Germany ceased more than a year ago, and whereas there are confined in jail and in prisons hundreds of conscientious objectors and political prisoners, and

"Whereas every other country engaged in the late war has pardoned its political offenders,

"Therefore be it Resolved, that the American Society of Equity (in state convention assembled, at Madison) demands that the political prisoners and conscientious objectors of the United States be immediately pardoned and the espionage act repealed, and

"Be it further Resolved, that we are emphatically opposed to the enactment of laws now pending in the United States senate, and in the house of representatives which, if enacted into law, will interfere with the constitutional rights of free speech, and free assemblage".

In a letter which Mr. Comings wrote to President Birge on January 13, he said that his resolution, and the motives that prompted it, had to do entirely and absolutely with cases under the espionage act, or cases directly related to the war.

And yet after receiving this letter President Birge insisted that he was justified in believing that the text of the resolution clearly made it apply to "revolutionists and anarchists".

Mr. Comings sought in vain to get the university authorities to submit his case to a disinterested committee to decide as to what was a fair interpretation of the meaning of his resolution.

The attempt of President Birge and Dean Russell to cater to war-time hatred, to misrepresent the nature and spirit of Mr. Comings' resolution, and to humiliate and punish him for expressing his political convictions attracted state-wide attention, and through publicity given to the matter in the Capital

Times, this was a factor which led to Mr. Comings' nomination and election as Lieutenant-governor.

To be entirely fair to President Birge, I must say that he wrote me a letter replying to an editorial which I published in the Wisconsin Leader, and in it he stated that he had said when the controversy was on that if Mr. Comings would write a letter disclaiming any sympathy with revolutionists, he would recommend his reappointment, and that after he received Mr. Comings' letter, he did recommend his reappointment.

But, of course, the principal criticism of the university's action rests upon the fact that it assumed to discipline a member of its teaching force on account of his action concerning a civic matter, at a public meeting in no way connected with the university, and where nobody had reason to think, and nobody did think, that he assumed to speak for anybody but himself.

Two bills in the legislature of 1923 illustrate how the farmers of the state felt that the university, (and particularly the college of agriculture) was in many ways being actually used as a weapon against them. One bill was for the abolishment of the farm institutes, and the other for the abolishment of the land clearing demonstrations conducted by the college of agriculture on cut over lands in the northern part of the state. The bill first mentioned passed in the assembly, where farmers were in a majority, but failed to pass in the senate. The second bill passed the assembly by a vote of 80 to 10, and was killed by amendments in the senate.

At the hearings on these bills a number of

farmer members of the legislature spoke in support of them. The university was criticised for the reactionary character of the farm institute speeches. It was said that while the college of agriculture was active in research work regarding better seeds, better fertilizers, better stock and better farm methods generally, yet little or no attention was paid to the economic problems of the farmers. "What good does it do", asked one speaker, "to show us how we may raise two bushels of potatoes where one grew before, if we must sell our potatoes for less than they cost us?"

CHAPTER III.

The Farmer-Labor Party.

The Republican party, with its mission to abolish chattel slavery was born in Wisconsin. The movement which culminated in the Progressive party was started in Wisconsin by Senator La Follette, and afterwards killed by Theodore Roosevelt. And for several years there has been a feeling that a new party, with a mission to abolish industrial slavery, might spring from the fertile progressive soil of Wisconsin. And thus it happened that no state in the union took so lively an interest as Wisconsin in the Farmer-Labor conference which was called to meet in Chicago on July 3, 1923.

To clearly understand this chapter, the Farmer-Labor *conference* must not be confounded with Farmer-Labor party *convention,* for there were two separate bodies that held meetings on July 4, 5, 6 and 7. The Farmer-Labor party was established in 1920 and was formed by a fusion of the movement started by the Committee of 48, with the Labor party of the state of Illinois. It nominated Parley P. Christensen for president and Dudley Field Malone for vice-president, after a number of the leaders of the Forty-eighters had withdrawn, including J. A. H. Hopkins, Allen McCurdy, Amos Pinchot and George L. Record. They withdrew because the minority report of the committee on platform was rejected, and because the majority report was too radical, and was not a platform upon which Senator La Follette could be expected to be a candidate. His name was brought before the convention in a notable speech by Lester Bar-

low of the World War Veterans, and a forty-five minutes demonstration followed, which clearly indicated that the senator was the favorite choice of the convention as a candidate.

That Senator La Follette seriously considered accepting a nomination from the Chicago convention of 1920, was indicated by the fact that he was represented there by Gilbert E. Roe of New York and the Senator's son, Robert M. La Follette, Jr., who watched every stage of the proceedings. Senator La Follette's nomination was only prevented by his son's positive announcement from the convention platform that the Senator could not accept a nomination. It was reported that a tentative draft of the platform was taken to Madison by a special messenger, to be reviewed by Senator La Follette and that he came back with the message from the senator that it was, "too flamboyant, almost revolutionary in its character in certain places, and would create a wrong psychological effect on the American people". The majority report of the platform committee was especially objected to by the more moderate Forty-eighters, on account of a plank endorsing the Plumb plan, for the operation of the railroads; a plank relating to the public ownership of the mines; and a declaration in favor of the imposition of a capital levy. A compromise report which declared for public ownership of the railroads, "*with democratic control*" was also opposed on the ground that it smacked of Russian sovietism.

The convention at the last showed a disposition to modify its platform to any extent needed in order to secure Senator La Follette as a

candidate, but the Senator's declination had been presented to the convention, and his representatives insisted that it must stand. Had the 1920 convention not been dominated by extremists a Farmer-Labor party at that time would have been established, which in the campaign of 1924 might have been as formidable here as is the British Labor party today in England.

I have thus briefly rehearsed the beginnings of the Farmer-Labor party in 1920, in order to form a background for the better comprehension of the Farmer-Labor movement of the present time.

Wisconsin rallied to the support of the Farmer-Labor conference of 1923, because it hoped that the mistakes of 1920 might be avoided, and that a basis of unity might be established which would make the party in 1924 a refuge for self-respecting progressives, who do not want to vote for Coolidge, or for any candidate whom the Democrats seem likely to nominate. And so it happened that Wisconsin was able to organize and send to the convention a delegation embracing among its members many of the leading La Follette progressives of the state. The delegation was led by Lieutenant-governor George F. Comings, whose candidacy for the governorship in 1924 has already been announced. Among the delegates was Miss Ada James, president of the State Woman's Progressive Association and Mrs. E. C. Hoebel, president of the Madison Woman's Progressive Association. Mr. Comings, Miss James and Mrs. Hoebel are also members of the executive committee of the Nonpartisan League. Other delegates were

Fred R. Zimmermann, secretary of state, Congressman J. D. Beck and Congressman George J. Schneider. The last two mentioned were not able to attend the conference, but expressed their sympathy with its purpose.

The present congress contains about 15 senators and 34 representatives, more or less independent of partisan control, who will stand for progressive legislation, and who are generally spoken of as the Farmer-Labor group. It was the constituency back of these men, probably amounting to three million voters, that the Wisconsin delegates hoped the movement might appeal to, by a moderate platform which would represent social reforms which it might reasonably be expected would be endorsed by all liberals and progressives.

Wisconsin progressives do not want a new party except in the field of national politics. As to reforms which may be accomplished by state action, our primary laws allow liberals to function satisfactorily through the progressive wing of the Republican party. For instance, in the 1923 session of the legislature we have again taken steps to submit a constitutional amendment for establishing the initiative and referendum. We have passed laws providing for farmer-labor representation on our board of university regents; for limiting the hours of labor for women to 50 hours a week, and not more than nine hours in any day; for cutting down the appropriation for the national guard to about one-third of what it has been; for making military training at the university optional; for making liberal increases in workmen's compensation indemnities; for restricting the granting of injunc-

tions arising out of labor disputes; for giving the legislature power to recall and remove appointive officers; for accepting the federal maternity act; for restricting the height of buildings in cities; for regulating the hours of labor of women employes in hotels; for granting a $500 exemption from taxation on homestead improvements; for permitting peaceful picketing; forbidding directed verdicts on issues of fact tryable by a jury, and for appropriating $550,000 annually for the eradication of bovine tuberculosis.

A report of the State Federation of Labor declares that of 50 measures considered by the legislative labor conference of 1923 36 per cent have either been enacted into law or resulted in favorable compromises.

A long list of important progressive measures which failed in the 1923 legislature might be made, but liberals find encouragement in the substantial support which these defeated measures received, many of them passing the assembly by large majorities. Some, including an old age pension law, passed the senate and were defeated in the assembly. A general eight hour bill (providing for an eight hour day in all mills, factories and work shops) passed the assembly and was defeated in the senate by four votes. A bill providing for an eight hour day for all state printing passed the assembly but was killed in the senate. A bill permitting cities to establish and operate depots and plants for the preparation and distribution of milk and other dairy products passed the assembly, but was defeated in the senate. A bill providing for unemployment compensation received considerable sup-

port in the senate, and as a compromise measure a bill was introduced making a substantial appropriation to investigate this subject but it also failed to pass.

With such a record as this, it becomes plain why Wisconsin progressives, working through the left wing of the Republican party, do not feel the need of a Farmer-Labor party to bring about reform measures which may be established by state action.

And with such a record as this it becomes plain why the Wisconsin delegation to the Chicago conference joined with the old leaders of the Farmer-Labor party in protesting against any fusion with the Communists of the Workers' Party and the Proletarian Party. It is now appreciated that a mistake was made in inviting these groups to attend the conference. That they had financial resources and other resources which would enable them to pack the conference and get away with it nobody suspected.

The aim of the Farmer-Labor party's executive committee in calling the conference, was to enlist in the support of a Farmer-Labor ticket for 1924 a largely increased number of organized workingmen and organized farmers. There were sent out 30,000 invitations to trade union bodies, together with invitations to the Nonpartisan League of the various states, numerous other farm organizations, and also to all the minor parties, including the Socialist's party, the Workers' Party and the Proletarians.

The Socialist party refused to take part in the conference principally because it mistrusted the Workers' Party and the Prole-

tarians as representing a disrupting element impossible to work with.

To understand the Workers' Party and the Proletarians their antecedents must be understood. In 1919 the Socialist party was disrupted by a faction in sympathy with the Russian communists.

The "reds" within the Socialist party captured control of the National executive committee, but were expelled by the old National executive committee, which refused to recognize the vote by which control was alleged to have been gained. Over half of the membership was expelled or suspended by the old executive committee.

These expelled elements held a conference in New York City, but divided, as they disagreed on the question of continuing to try to get control of the Socialist party or going ahead with the organizing of an entirely new party.

Out of the latter element came the Communist party and the other element, after failing to get control of the Socialist party, organized themselves into the Communist Labor party.

One group within the Communist party associated with the publishing of "The Proletarian", a Marxian magazine, now published in Chicago, disagreed with the program and methods of the Communist party and were expelled from its ranks two months after that party was organized.

Then followed the famous Palmer "red raids", both Communist parties became secret organizations, and the expelled Proletarians organized an open Communist party—the Proletarian Party—a few months later,

(about June, 1920) and it has continued a separate existence ever since with headquarters in Chicago.

The two "underground" Communist parties later joined together under the name "United Communist party," which, together with another group that left the Socialist Party in 1921, became the "Workers' Party" in December, 1921.

C. F. Ruthenberg who was national secretary of the Communist party and who organized a bolt from the Socialist party in 1919, was the leader of the Workers' party delegates to the Chicago conference. They were well-drilled and gave unquestioned support to everything Mr. Ruthenberg and his colleague W. Z. Foster had planned. Not a few who were in the Chicago convention remembered the agitation in the Socialist party in 1919 led by Mr. Ruthenberg which had for its slogan "Capture the party for revolutionary Socialism", and it was strongly suspected that with false faces the aim of Ruthenberg and Foster was to "Capture the Farmer-Labor party for revolutionary Communism."

At the Chicago conference I represented Wisconsin on the committee on resolutions. How completely this committee was dominated by communists was proven when a resolution declaring for the exclusion from the new party of any organizations affiliated with the communist Internationale, or which advocates any other than lawful means of achieving the aims of the workers and farmers, was voted down. There were, I think, only four or five votes in the committee in favor of the resolution. It was made the subject of a minority report to

the conference, and there it was also overwhelmingly defeated. But at the time this vote was taken in the conference a large number of delegates, appreciating that the communists were running things, had left the convention hall, and not a few of them had returned home.

The Milwaukee Leader commented as follows on the tactics of the communists:

"If Ruthenberg and Foster intended to form a Federated Farmer-Labor party, based upon a mild socialist program at Chicago, then they should have followed the tactics pursued by the members of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., representatives of the steel trust, sugar, oil and other interests at the Chicago convention which nominated Harding. Like the famous financial group which met at the Blackstone Hotel, and were never once mentioned in the press, Ruthenberg and Foster should have been quietly in the background to accomplish their purpose in controlling the Chicago meeting, since it is evident they were putting forward a mild program with the idea of uniting factions who are not ready for their complete program, all of which is explained in the Workers' Party publication.

"Successful control from Moscow of any American party necessitates something of which our friends, the communists, have thus far never been able to master—the art of keeping still, of avoiding publicity—in a word, a careful and correct imitation of the gentlemen who manipulated the Republican party convention in 1920. So far it has been the ambition of the communists to be secretive, plotting, underground characters, retiring to

the Michigan woods to hold their meetings, etc. And at the same time to appear regularly on the front page.

"They cannot successfully combine the two roles. They bossed the Chicago gathering but killed its hopes of accomplishment by being too much in evidence."

During the conference, the communists issued a daily paper, "The Voice of Labor", and they distributed quantities of communist literature.

Writing in a communist periodical, C. E. Ruthenberg recently said:

"The communists do not intend to deceive the working class by teaching them that the social revolution is a pink tea affair to be achieved in the legislative halls of the capitalist government. The lesson of the one country in which the workers have obtained power, soviet Russia, shows that after the Workers' government is established an iron dictatorship must rule as the instrument through which the struggle against the exploiters is carried further. The communists recognize the historic truth that no privileged class has ever given up its special position, its power to live in luxury through the exploitation of the oppressed class, without a bitter struggle in which it has resorted to every means within its power to retain its privileged position. Everything points to the fact that the struggle in Europe and America will not differ from the class struggles of the past, and that the workers in the fight to emancipate themselves must be ready for such a struggle."

The Chicago conference ended by the formation of a so-called Federated Farmer-Labor

Party which announced its intention to hold another convention, to nominate candidates for president and vice-president. If it should carry out its plans and be successful in putting a presidential ticket in the field, it will be interesting to see how many voters will support a communist ticket. For I am sure the Federated Farmer-Labor party will be judged more by the antecedents of its leaders, and by its voting down a resolution declaring against revolutionary methods, than by its platform.

W. Z. Foster was recently barely acquitted on charges of criminal syndicalism and C. E. Ruthenberg was convicted on similar charges. A. J. Feldhaus in one of his convention speeches put them in the same class as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison.

Ruthenberg in one of his speeches before the conference said "I am a communist. I confess that there are many things in this program as proposed, particularly the platform, that as an economist I don't like. But we as communists, as Marxians, accept this as a step in the right direction.

"We are not going to quit now because we are not getting all we want. This is but one of the steps in the movement toward the ultimate emancipation of the workers."

Following the adjournment of the Farmer-Labor conference and its outline of a plan for a Federated Farmer-Labor Party, representatives of the original Farmer-Labor party established in 1920 held their convention, disavowing the proceedings of the Farmer-Labor conference and condemning the Workers' party delegates as conspirators, who had packed the conference by unfair and disreputable tactics.

Ruthenberg and his followers have split the Farmer-Labor party very much in the same way that they split the Socialist party in 1918 and 1919.

Whether the original Farmer-Labor party can survive, and function in a formidable way in 1924 depends upon future events. It is certain that the victory of Magnus Johnson in Minnesota on a Farmer-Labor ticket by such a tremendous majority together with the fact that this election places two Farmer-Labor candidates in the United States senate will do much to strengthen the real Farmer-Labor party. It is needless to say that neither Senator Shipstead nor Senator Johnson have any sympathy with the methods or doctrines of Mr. Foster or Mr. Ruthenberg.

Perhaps the time is not yet ripe for independent political action by the farmers and wage workers in the national field. This is the view of the majority who have controlled the two conferences for progressive political action held in Cleveland in December, 1922, and in December, 1921, at Chicago.

This conference excluded delegates of the Workers' Party because it was declared, that actual experience had shown that the disruptive tactics of the Workers' party justified such exclusion, and it was further asserted that by rejecting the principles of democracy in favor of dictatorship, the Workers' party is on record against the declared principles of the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Evidently some great unifying element is necessary to spur the rank and file of farmers and workers to independent political action. The unifying element may turn out to be a

single personality such as that of Senator La Follette. Henry Ford is a possibility, but there was little or no sentiment for him in either the Farmer-Labor conference or the Farmer-Labor party convention. F. H. Shoemaker of Green Bay, Wisconsin, said:

"As I look into the faces of these delegates, I think it would be as popular to talk of Henry Ford for president as it would be to propose him for mayor of Jerusalem."

The executive committee of the Farmer-Labor party is undaunted by the miscarriage of the Farmer-Labor conference. In an official communication sent out to affiliated organizations over the signature of J. G. Brown, the committee declares that it will soon resume an active campaign for the affiliation of local unions as well as international bodies. It believes that the response will be greater than ever before. This is true for it has now purged itself of all suspicion of communism and has demonstrated that no stronger or more sincere opposition to revolutionary tactics can be found anywhere than in the rank and file of organized workers and organized farmers.

In a statement of the position of the Farmer-Labor party by Robert M. Buck, editor of The New Majority he says that the recent conference was not the first storm through which the party has passed, and in which it has steadfastly refused to be stampeded, standing fast by its principles, and emerging unbowed of head, and unbroken of ranks or spirit.

He declares that the party should not amalgamate with other groups having a different philosophy than its own, at least until such a

time as the central organization shall have worked up sufficient strength to stand staunchly on its own two legs, the unions and the farm organizations. Perhaps then it may accept the affiliations with other groups without permitting them to divert it from its main purposes. He explains:

"Reports came into the party headquarters that the Workers' Party was packing the conference with delegates from trade unions in which they had enough members to have their own people named as delegates. We said, 'It doesn't make any difference. If they want to pack it, if they want to behave that way, let them. We don't have to do what they propose unless we want to.

"'They were distinctly and definitely on a test of their behavior. The conference was their opportunity to prove if they were folks other folks could work with.

"'They were not such folks. They did pack the conference. They were unruly guests. They started right off the bat to tell their host what they should do and how to do it. They came in not only with a program, there was no harm in that, but with a program in conflict with the invitation and with the spirit of the meeting.'

"Instead of a program for a plan to be carried back by the delegates, to their several constituents, it was a plan for immediate organization, including the election of a new national executive committee, not in the future, but by the conference, then and there which they had packed and which they controlled. * * *

"Therefore the Farmer-Labor party, re-

pudiated the run-away action and went on its way as before. Of course, the Workers' Party has created a temporary confusion in stealing the name of the Farmer-Labor party for its latest camouflage, calling itself the Federated Farmer-Labor party.

"The Farmer-Labor party has lost only one branch, if it has lost that. That is the Washington state branch. Delegates Kennedy and Bouck, representing that state, went over to the new party. They were confident that their group would follow them, and perhaps it will. But the other dozen or so of delegates who left the Farmer-Labor party convention for the new party represented only themselves."

It is said that the Federated Farmer-Labor party has a moderate platform. It is moderate compared with the platform of the Workers' party. It contains nothing revolutionary, but it is not such a platform as will attract new groups of workers and farmers. It will please those who believe in independent political action primarily for educational purposes, but not those who believe in independent political action as a method of obtaining legislation.

I may sum up this chapter by saying we now have two Farmer-Labor parties where only one grew before, and to obtain a clear idea of how this has come about, one party ought to be named "The American Farmer-Labor Party" while the other should be named "The Russian Farmer-Labor party", or "The Farmer-Labor party of the Third Internationale."

CHAPTER IV.

Unemployment Insurance.

"What! Have the state pay a man when he goes on a strike?" "If we must pay our help after we lay them off, on account of dull business, we would all go into bankruptcy." "This is a good bill to drive manufacturers out of the state."

Thus have been voiced some of the objections to unemployment insurance, and all based on misapprehensions. Frederick C. Howe said in his book on Wisconsin, "Wisconsin university is the fourth department of the state along with the judicial, executive and legislative branches. * * * The university is the nerve center of the commonwealth, impelling it to action in almost every field of activity. It has been the direct inspiration of many of the progressive laws of the past decade. * * * The university is the state research laboratory. Graduate students investigate pending questions, while the seminars in economics, politics, and sociology are utilized for the exhaustive study of state problems."

This was written more than ten years ago. It is not as true today as it was then. This is partly because the university, until recently, has been growing reactionary, and there has been a tendency for leading university professors to seek to keep things as they are, rather than to advocate reform measures, and by taking this attitude they undoubtedly put themselves in agreement with the prevailing sentiment on the university board of regents, and made themselves *persona grata* to the administrative powers in control.

But Professor John R. Commons of the department of economics has always been true to the idea that the university being a state institution owes peculiar duties to the state and among them the duty of being a "fourth department" as described by Dr. Howe. So it happens that it has been Dr. Commons, and one of his post graduate students, Allen B. Forsberg, who in collaboration with Senator Henry A. Huber, are responsible for the unemployment insurance bill which came before the legislatures of 1921 and 1923 (Our legislature convenes only every other year). In 1921 the bill was defeated in the senate by a majority of one. In 1923, foreseeing another probable defeat, a substitute amendment was presented providing for a $25,000 appropriation for an interim investigation. This also was defeated by one vote.

In the hearing on the bill before the senate committee in 1923 the principal speaker in favor of the measure was Henry S. Denison of the Denison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Massachusetts. Another advocate of the bill was Herbert Johnson, president of the S. C. Johnson Company of Racine, Wis.

Manufacturers of goods, the retail sales of which are condensed into a few weeks of the year, have prevented unemployment in their factories by improving production and sales methods. The unemployment bill is based on their example, and would prompt all employers to follow such methods, as far as possible, and thus secure more uniformity in employment.

The Denison Company was founded to manufacture Christmas goods. Its busy season began in September and ended in about

three months. But it found it possible to induce retailers to order long in advance of their needs so that work could be carried on throughout the year, instead of being concentrated into a period of three months. The company now begins manufacturing Christmas goods 15 months before they are actually sold to the consumer. It has introduced the manufacture of other products, so that employes may be transferred from one occupation to another. Ingenuity, good management and good salesmanship have revolutionized the business.

What the Denison Company, and other concerns, have accomplished voluntarily, could be generally promoted through the compulsion of the Huber bill.

The bill is patterned after the workmen's compensation act of the state, which puts a premium upon good management in reducing accidents. Unemployment insurance would make it profitable for employers to arrange their business so that all avoidable lay-offs would be prevented.

In its scope, the Huber bill includes employers of six or more persons. It exempts farmers.

The rate of compensation is one dollar for each work day for men and 50 cents for women.

Employers are required to organize a statewide employment insurance company. The amount each employer pays into the insurance company varies with his employment experience for the period. Those who lay off the most, pay higher rates. Those who give steady employment pay less.

Among the requirements for compensation payments are the following:

The recipient must have worked for six months, must be capable and available for work, but unable to obtain suitable employment. He is not required to accept work where there is a strike. Not more than 13 weeks of unemployment are to be paid in a calendar year.

Compensation would not be paid where unemployment is caused by voluntarily quitting work or to men discharged for misconduct, or if the unemployment is caused by a strike or lockout.

Workmen's compensation legislation has been enacted on the theory that if a right of action is given to the working man against his employer for compensation on account of accident at, say, a dollar and a half during the period of his disability, then the employer will be interested in safety devices to reduce accidents.

And under unemployment insurance, if a right of action at one dollar a day for thirteen weeks, while out of work, is given to the workingman who is laid off through no fault of his own, then the employers will stabilize their work, and will establish employment departments to get other employers to take on their workers when they are obliged to lay them off.

As to the practicability of unemployment insurance, Dr. Commons has pointed out that it has been established in seven or eight countries. It started some 25 years ago in Switzerland, it spread to Belgium where it has been in operation for 20 years, then Denmark took it

up some 15 years ago. Later England established it and applied it to two million workmen. Since the war the number has been increased until the law applies now to twelve million workmen. Italy and Norway have followed England in establishing unemployment insurance.

CHAPTER V.

The Federated Press League.

Since January 31, 1921, one of the potent forces in promoting a public sentiment for progressive action in Wisconsin has been the Federated Press League, which was organized on that date. It is Madison's liberal club, and has held a series of remarkable meetings.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable was an amnesty dinner held at the Capitol Cafe in November, 1922. It was intended to arouse interest in amnesty for political prisoners. It was understood at the time that all, except four or five of the political prisoners were I. W. W's. Consequently it was a meeting to ask amnesty for I. W. W's. The guest of honor was Carl Haessler, editor of the Federated Press, and a conscientious objector who spent several years in a federal prison. Were we able to get any persons of importance and influence to take part in a meeting of this kind? We were. The principal speech of the evening was delivered by M. B. Olbrich, private secretary and counsel to the governor. Another speaker was Solomon Levitan, president of the Commercial National Bank and state treasurer-elect, and the toastmaster of the evening was Lieutenant-governor George F. Comings. In how many other cities in the United States would it be possible to arrange such a demonstration as this for the cause of free speech? It was no special sympathy for I. W. W's. that prompted it. It was sympathy for the constitution of the United States, and particularly for amendment one, to that constitution, which has been so flagrantly violated

by the passing of sedition laws—the amendment which says, "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

The following telegram from the meeting was sent to President Harding:

"This government cannot afford to have it said with any measure of truth that any man is confined in jail because of his opinion. It cannot afford to be less enlightened in its attitude toward political prisoners than any other nation in the world. Believing that the best traditions of American democracy, justice, expediency, and a common sense regard for the continuance of the established social order, combine to dictate such a course, this organization respectfully and unanimously requests that you grant a pardon to the 71 members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and others confined in federal prisons, for violation of the espionage act".

At this meeting, there was told the story of the unjust judge who feared not God, neither regarded man. And there was a widow in the city where he held his court, and where he sat with severe dignity in black robes. And the widow came to the judge saying "Avenge me of mine adversary." And he would not for a while, but afterwards he said within himself, "Though I fear not God nor regard man, yet because this widow troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me".

We hoped that by our continual coming to President Harding, for amnesty for those un-

justly imprisoned, we might weary him. But we never received any acknowledgment from the president of our telegram, although we had written him about the meeting which we proposed to hold, and told him who our speakers would be.

Sometimes when you are splitting wood you will hit a chunk a tremendous blow with the axe, and the log will split open, but not in the place where you hit it at all. The speech of Mr. Olbrich was published in full in the Capital Times. And a day or two afterward I made a clipping of this speech which I sent to Governor Small of Illinois, together with a letter telling him about our meeting. Within the next ten days he issued a pardon to William Bross Lloyd and 16 other prisoners, who had recently been sent to the Illinois state prison on charges of criminal syndicalism.

Ninety-two persons attended the amnesty dinner.

The Federated Press League of Madison is one of a chain of similar organizations, auxiliary to the Federated Press. Its purpose is to assist in every way possible the plans of the Federated Press, to bring about a closer contact between liberals and the labor movement, so that there may be greater understanding on both sides and greater unity of purpose. Membership dues in the League are five dollars per year for regular members and contributing members, and sustaining members pay larger amounts. Nearly the entire amount collected in membership fees is sent to the Federated Press to help sustain it until it may become a self-supporting news-gathering agency.

The object of the Federated Press has been stated as follows:

"Being unable to obtain unbiased news service from the existent press associations, certain persons, owners of or representing newspapers and other publications have united in a co-operative organization for the collection and exchange of intelligence, telegraphic and otherwise, for publication in the newspapers or other publications owned or represented by them. It shall be the general policy of this association that our news service must be handled absolutely without bias for or against the principles of the several groups represented by the membership."

All members of the Federated Press League receive the Federated Press Bulletin, a weekly publication containing the most interesting and important features of the regular service of the Federated Press.

Professor Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago, one of the editors of the New Republic, is the president of the Federated Press League, and Clark H. Getts was the first secretary.

The Madison chapter of the League was organized at a meeting held at the University Y. M. C. A., when addresses were made by Professor Arnold Dresden, W. T. Evjue of the Capital Times and Mr. Getts. The first officers were E. N. Warner, president; H. L. Atkins, treasurer, Laura B. Johnson, secretary and Professor William Ellery Leonard, Emil Orne and A. O. Barton vice-presidents. Governor Blaine spoke at one of our first meetings. Other speakers have been Lieutenant-governor Comings, Professor E. A.

Ross, Senator Herman J. Severson, Judge Charles D. Rosa, Lancelot A. Gordon, assistant secretary of state, Miss Ada James, president of the state Woman's Progressive Association, and George P. Hambrecht of the Board of Vocational Education.

Upton Sinclair was the guest of honor at one of the meetings of the League in April, 1922. This was at a time when there was a most lively interest in the efforts of the Social Science club to establish a free platform for discussional meetings at the university. At this League meeting the following resolution was adopted:

"We, the members of the Federated Press League, and other citizens of Madison hereby respectfully petition the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin to return to the time-honored tradition and to the policy consistent with the tablet erected in front of Bascom hall, which pledges the University of Wisconsin to freedom of investigations and freedom of speech, in accordance with which voluntary student organizations like the Social Science Club should be permitted to use university halls for reputable speakers whom they invite here from time to time to discuss social and economic questions. We believe this policy to be peculiarly fitting to the freedom and dignity of a great university established and maintained in a democracy."

Another notable meeting of the League was addressed by Dr. A. E. Haydon of the University of Chicago, who spoke on Gandhi. At the time when the anti-militarism fight was the hottest, in March, 1923, and when the assembly of the state passed a bill providing for the

abolishment of the national guard, the League held a meeting to protest against militarism, and to voice public sentiment in favor of the action of the assembly, or at least in favor of cutting down the appropriation for the guard to the lowest possible sum.

Lieutenant-governor Comings was toastmaster at this meeting and among the speakers were Miss James, Dr. P. M. Dawson, Miss Marjorie B. Johnson, Rev. O. J. Siljan and state senators Johnson and Quick.

"There is nothing true in the newspapers but the advertising," said Thomas Jefferson many years ago. "The perusal of the public press is fast becoming an obstacle to the attainment of knowledge", said Allen McCurdy at the Farmer-Labor convention of 1920. One of the most incredible things in Wisconsin is the slight influence of the newspapers on affairs political. Only two or three daily newspapers, and perhaps a dozen weekly papers supported Senator La Follette in his campaign for re-election in 1922, and yet there were a number of election districts in the state where his opponents in the primary election, and in the final election did not get even one vote.

In the campaigns of 1920 and 1922 when the progressive candidates were nominated and elected by large majorities, they not only had little or no newspaper support, but from the opening to the close of the campaign, the progressive candidates and the progressive speakers constantly attacked the newspapers and denounced them as the organs of special privilege and purveyors of lies.

Lieutenant-governor Comings was a special

target at which the newspapers aimed their mud batteries. At a speech before the Public Ownership League convention in Chicago the Lieutenant-governor said, "We can never develop a Christian civilization in this country until we abolish privilege". The Milwaukee Journal, a Democratic newspaper with a large circulation, reported the Lieutenant-governor as saying "We cannot establish a Christian civilization in this country until we abolish private property." And then the Journal wrote an editorial waxing very indignant over the Lieutenant-governor's bolshevism. In the primary election of 1920 Mr. Comings received about 40,000 more votes than any other candidate. In the final election he received 440,000 votes to 55,000 votes for his Democratic opponent.

With such a Democratic organ as the Milwaukee Journal, can you wonder that in the legislature of 1921 there were only three Democrats and in the legislature of 1923 there was only one?

And so it happens that the liberals and progressives of Wisconsin appreciate the services of the Federated Press in its aims to counteract the perverted news and poisoned news which is dispensed by newspapers of the state controlled by special privilege.

CHAPTER VI.

The Social Science Club.

"Is it immoral to go to college?"

"Should students who put principle above policy pack their trunks and leave?"

Indeed, intolerance and reaction in American universities have reached a limit when students are seriously discussing these questions, as they did recently at a student conference held at Hartsdale, N. Y., under the auspices of the National Student Forum. This organization is a federated union of voluntary student organizations, like the Wisconsin Social Science Club, which are to be found in a large number of American colleges and universities. The University of Wisconsin was represented at this conference, where young men and women argued that many classes, capitalists, intellectuals and others contribute to education, and that all get an adequate return for their labor except the ordinary worker. He usually gets very little education for himself and his children and often does not receive enough wages to supply him with the material necessities of life.

The young men and women who took part in this discussion did not regard our colleges and universities as institutions for whose existence we should be grateful to the multimillionaires who have endowed them, or even to states which have founded them. They regarded these institutions as, in the last analysis, the creation of the working classes, and yet used as a weapon against these classes, and as an instrument whose main object it is to preserve the present order of society and

to prevent the workers from obtaining social justice. It was pointed out that to secure this prime object academic freedom is suppressed, studies are not suited to the social needs of the hour, students are kept out of touch with the rest of the community, especially with the workers, and are taught to regard with more or less suspicion and hostility farmers and wage workers who are organizing to improve their condition, and to secure an adequate return for the wealth they are producing.

Are the youth who entertain such ideas a menace to the nation? Calvin Coolidge says yes. After probing many such organizations as the Social Science Club of the University of Wisconsin he wrote a series of articles for a modern Godey's Ladies' Book in which he declared that these organizations were "breaking down the old sturdy virtues of manhood and womanhood", and "aiming at the destruction of the foundations of civilization." The articles bore the general title "Enemies of the Republic."

Taking the Social Science Club of Wisconsin as typical of the group of organizations which Mr. Coolidge probed, let us see what it has been doing. It states its aim in its constitution as follows:

"The object of this club shall be to bring about a more intelligent understanding by college men and women of socio-economic problems, and to this end we endeavor to bring before the students prominent speakers who actively represent various movements of importance".

The supporters of the club, many of them at least, feel that "a great deal of college is just

so many hours of deadly boredom", as was said at the Hartsdale conference, "the mere acquisition of encyclopedic information which seems pointless. Economics is taught in such a manner that what we learn seems to have no application to present-day economic and sociological discussions".

Under university auspices non-resident speakers appear at our universities who are captains of industry, diplomats, and of high authority in the physical sciences, but speakers who deal with the social sciences and with the problems of labor are rarely heard, and most of those who do deal with these problems approach them from the standpoint of the capitalist. And so organizations like the Social Science Club seek to bring to the universities those who will give them information on excluded topics, and they continually meet with opposition from the university authorities dominated by an uncurious, suspicious and timid attitude toward radicalism, and all the vital controversies of our day.

The attitude of the university authorities in Wisconsin toward speakers of the Social Science Club has been eccentric and in fact comic. W. Z. Foster was permitted by President Birge to speak in the university gymnasium, but Oswald Garrison Villard was excluded. Upton Sinclair was permitted to speak, but Lincoln Steffins was not. Perhaps President Birge did not know who W. Z. Foster was, but he probably sees the Nation from time to time in the reading rooms, but not likely in his own library. After Foster spoke there were many criticisms in

the conservative newspapers of the state because he was given a hearing.

Wisconsin being a state university, and being dependent upon the legislature for biennial appropriations, President Birge has tactfully been liberal in his administration of university affairs when a liberal legislature was in session, with a liberal governor in the chair, and reactionary when a reactionary legislature was in session, with a reactionary governor in office.

Besides Mr. Villard, other speakers of the Wisconsin Social Science Club who have not been permitted to speak in university halls were Scott Nearing, Lincoln Steffens and Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare.

The question of opening the university gymnasium to Mr. Villard was referred to the board of regents, and it was said at the time that only two members voted in favor of granting the use of the gymnasium. At the time Scott Nearing was not permitted to speak in the university, President Birge was quoted as saying to a reporter of the Federated Press:

"I stand by my decision forbidding Scott Nearing to appear on a lecture platform of the University. When I permitted the Social Science Club to bring William Z. Foster here last year, I was subjected to much criticism throughout the state for allowing such a radical to speak. I don't know whether Scott Nearing is more radical or not but he does not seem to have so much backing as Foster.

"The university should cultivate the sound judgment of its students. If this propaganda is continually going on the students will not

get time to think. (Sic.) We are living in a period of propaganda. It is coming from all sides, but in a few years it may subside again.

"I have no black list, but judge each case as it appears. I did not want to give Nearing the advertising which the university platform would have given him. To be sure he got advertising through my refusal. When I grant the university platform, the speaker gets advertised, and when I refuse it he still gets the advertising. I must choose the lesser of two evils.

"It seems I get nothing but blame for whatever I do in this matter. Nobody thinks of giving credit to me when a talk is permitted. They think that is only the proper course. But when they don't like a speaker they deluge me with criticism. The most severe criticism I have got on any speaker was when I granted permission for ex-president William Howard Taft to appear.

"Radicals and others told me he was not a fit man to address our students. But this is all in the day's work for which I draw my salary".

Preceding the election of governor John J. Blaine, the state administration was reactionary, with Governor Emanuel L. Philipp at its head. The governor appoints the board of regents which control university policies, and it was composed principally of Governor Philipp's appointees. But at the time Mr. Villard, Mr. Nearing and Mr. Steffins were turned down by President Birge, Governor Blaine had appointed two progressives on the board of regents, Theodore Kronshage of Milwaukee and Miss Elizabeth A. Walters of

Fond du Lac. Believing that they would have some friends in court, the students of the Social Science Club asked Mr. Kronshage to present to the board of regents a petition which read as follows:

"We, the undersigned, agree with the ideals expressed on the tablet at Bascom Hall, which reads:

"'We cannot for a moment believe that knowledge has reached its final goal, or that the present constitution of society is perfect. In all lines of investigation the investigator should be absolutely free to follow the paths of truth wherever they may lead. Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great state of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found.

"We, therefore respectfully petition the board of regents to remove all censorship from our forum, and in accordance with the liberty-loving spirit of our constitution to grant us actual as well as theoretical, lawful, free speech'."

The liberal students of the university had strong support in their fight for a free platform for their speakers. In protest against the exclusion of Mr. Villard, the state assembly attended the Villard lecture as a body, and most of them took seats on the platform. When Scott Nearing spoke he was introduced by M. B. Olbrich, private secretary and counsel to the governor. In introducing Mr. Nearing, Mr. Olbrich said:

"I am firmly persuaded that no profounder sentiment ever came from the pen or lips of

any American jurist than that set forth by Mr. Justice Holmes when he said 'The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market'. The university above all other places should be the great clearing house, to which thought may be taken to market. In this commodity there should be absolute freedom of trade. Anarchists or monarchists, progressive or reactionary, pacifist or militarist, bolshevik or bourbon, each should be entitled to his hearing. This was the thought that led to the declaration of the board of regents in 1894, that the great university of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth may be found. This, my Alma Mater, told me was the very essence of the Wisconsin spirit."

He quoted president John Bascom as saying:

"Shut us in a single room, and our own exhalations poison it. We live in a great world, great physically and great spiritually, and we must have freedom in it. Its several parts are corrective and supplementary, and we must have access to them all. If we turn our backs on the history of the race, if we bang the door in the face of its personal purity, its patriotism, its heroic faith, we may indeed smother our own inspirations, we cannot alter the destiny of man".

He further quoted Senator La Follette:

"But at this university whether in pursuit of scientific or ethical or economic truth there is no forbidden ground. In this institution maintained by the state there are no interests to be consulted or compromised with. No in-

vestigator wears blinders, no teacher is admonished to tread softly."

George P. Hambrecht, secretary of the Vocational Education Board, who is also on the university Board of Visitors championed the cause of the Social Science Club in a speech before the Board of Regents. It was a hard thing for the board to get away from its traditional record for academic freedom. The tablet on Bascom Hall which has been referred to was an abstract from a resolution passed by the board of regents after Professor Richard T. Ely had been tried for economic heresy and acquitted. One member of the board of regents was reported to have said that the sentiment of the Bascom Hall tablet was only applicable to the teaching force of the university, and that the students had no business to assume that it applied to them!

The controversy over free speech at the university was waged most hotly during the academic year 21-22. In the fall of 1922 Senator La Follette and Governor Blaine were elected by a tremendous majority, and the assembly and senate were controlled by progressives. One of the issues in the campaign of 1922 had been free speech at the university, and the appointment of farmer-labor representatives on all educational boards. A bill was passed in 1923 which provided that hereafter there should always be on the board of university regents two farmers and two wage workers. The expiration of the terms of office of certain reactionary members of the board of regents gave Governor Blaine power to make several appointments, and the board was definitely liberalized by his appointments. The result of

this was reflected in a greatly changed attitude on the part of President Birge toward the Social Science Club, and its speakers.

But this changed attitude was not sufficient to permit President Birge to consider for a moment permitting Kate Richards O'Hare to speak in a university building. The Social Science Club invited her, but the president resented with indignation the proposal that she should speak at the university. But not at all daunted, a committee of the club applied to the superintendent of public buildings for permission for the meeting to be held in the assembly chamber of the capitol.

"What is the subject of the address?" was the only question asked by the superintendent.

"Prison reform," answered the committee.

"I see no objection" said the superintendent, and arrangements were completed. Super-patriots put up an indignant protest. The American Legion called an indignation meeting. Students from the Social Science Club attended the meeting and asked to be allowed to answer the false charges which have been made against Mrs. O'Hare. Phillip Voltz was permitted to start a speech in Mrs. O'Hare's defense, but he had not gone far before he was crowded off the platform. The meeting passed rattling resolutions and appointed a committee to wait on Governor Blaine and to secure, if possible, the revocation of the permission to hold the meeting in the Assembly chamber. But Governor Blaine stood by the superintendent of public buildings, the meeting was held exactly as arranged. Lieutenant-governor Comings presided, and introduced Mrs. O'Hare. There was considerable disturbance

and rowdyism shown by some of the American Legion boys, but it was not serious.

Some of the older members of the Social Science Club were not surprised at the governor's stand for free speech, for they remembered that he showed not a little courage some three years before, when he was the attorney-general of the state, and when he had been often mentioned as a probable candidate for governor, he was invited to speak before the Social Science Club.

"What shall be my topic?" Mr. Blaine asked.

"We would like you to speak" said the committee, "on the changes which would be necessary in the Wisconsin state constitution in order to introduce a soviet form of government".

And he did. He read a carefully prepared paper, supplemented by extemporaneous comments in which he pointed out both the advantages and disadvantages of representative government based on geographical subdivisions and representative government based on representation from industrial groups.

Following Mrs. O'Hare's meeting there was an interesting newspaper controversy as to a story told by Arthur Looker, an American Legion man, at the protest meeting.

The Wisconsin State Journal of Madison reported it as follows:

"The war hero told of his experiences at an O'Hare meeting where the American flag was torn down, trampled upon, and he himself was knocked down by a blow over the head by a chair. Later, he said, the 'Socialist Campaigner' reported the fracas, and said it had been started by a dispute between a Catholic

and Protestant clergyman, quarreling for the right to escort Mrs. O'Hare to her hotel."

This meeting, according to the story told by Looker, was held at Williston, North Dakota, and ended in a free-for-all fight, with cowboys shooting out the lights, etc.

The Looker story seemed preposterous, and a group of ex-service men decided to investigate. They were told by a certain Colonel Jackson of Madison, a friend of Looker, that the meeting referred to by Looker was held at Plentiwood, Montana, instead of Williston, N. D.

A telegram of inquiry was sent to the sheriff of the county in which Plentiwood is located. He answered:

"Kate O'Hare has spoken here four times in the last six years, at no time has the American flag been torn down or disrespectfully alluded to. I have known Kate O'Hare for seven years, and while she may be considered a radical politically, after having heard four addresses I consider her one hundred per cent American." (Signed) "O. M. Collins, late first lieutenant, 3rd Indiana infantry; Sgt. Infantry of Company B, Spanish war; late first sergeant of Company A, Infantry, Sheriff, Sheridan county, Montana."

Before making public this telegram Mr. Looker was asked if it were true that the incident he recounted took place at Plentiwood instead of Williston, and he said it was and that the meeting was held in 1917.

Another telegram was sent to O. J. Collins in which the story told by Looker was related, and the following answer came back:

"In a speech delivered by Kate O'Hare in

1917 the American flag was not torn down, trod upon or alluded to in any way. There was no fight or disturbance of any kind, and the following officers and citizens in Sheridan County hereby state that the statement of Arthur Looker in which he said the above was done is false, as we were present at the meeting and know the same to be untrue. Affidavits of the same will be mailed today. Also a copy of an anti-radical newspaper which will be self-explanatory. Looker is not known here". (Signed) "O. J. Collins, sheriff, Sheridan county.

"William Moe, county superintendent of schools; member of American Legion.

"B. K. O'Grady, clerk and recorder.

"D. J. Olson, county treasurer.

"L. S. Olson, justice of the peace.

"M. S. Nelson, county coroner.

"William Corkery, deputy sheriff.

"O. A. Ashlund, county assessor.

"R. Salisbury, deputy sheriff."

This incident is a striking illustration as to how war hysteria and war hatred spontaneously generate fiction. It shows exactly how it was possible to find witnesses to swear that Mrs. O'Hare said many things she had never even thought of.

The Social Science Club at one time sent out a questionnaire asking various professors and persons who had addressed the club whether they considered the organization a desirable one, and its purpose worthy.

Governor Blaine, then attorney-general, said:

"When reaction abounds with intolerance, suppression and repression, any organization

which has for its object the discovery of the truth is very desirable, particularly in our colleges and universities. Liberalism in these days is very necessary.

"Therefore, so long as the Wisconsin Social Science club preserves liberty of discussion and promotes the search for truth, it will go a long way in breaking down the barriers that stand in the way of social and political progress."

CHAPTER VII.

In the Legislature.

Great progress was made by the legislature of 1923 in the enactment of reform measures, and yet some progressives called it a do-nothing session, principally because of the failure of several tax bills, which aimed to reduce property taxes, and make a corresponding increase in income taxes on the larger incomes.

Soon after the opening of the 1923 session of the legislature, a group comprising 30 members formed a legislative economics class and invited Dr. J. Weller Long to be their leader. They met in the office of the secretary of state on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. This was an unique organization. Where else in the United States, except in Wisconsin, could you find a body of legislators striving to increase their efficiency as public servants by making a systematic study of economics and political science?

"No person", said one member of the class to me, "can competently deal with all the manifold legislative problems confronting the state without systematic study of the basic principles of economics."

A broad-brimmed, high-crowned, Kentucky colonel's hat, long black frock coat, summer or winter, a smooth shaven face as thin as William G. McAdoo's, six feet six inches tall, a bluff, hearty manner, a directness of speech punctured sometimes with unquotable epithets, a life-long fighter for progressive reforms, that's John Weller Long, the leader of the Wisconsin legislative study class.

He comes from Missouri, and he always must be shown, and often it is not an easy job either. To prove all things by his own independent judgment has been one of Dr. Long's characteristics for more than fifty years.

But for twenty years of his life he was showing other people—being a school teacher. He was educated in the country schools and attended a district school after he was six feet three inches tall, together with boys and girls some of them only six years old. He won his certificate authorizing him to teach in the public schools at the age of twenty, and after only twenty months of regular schooling.

In 1892 he was helping form the Farmers' Alliance with L. L. Polk of North Carolina. The famous campaign of 1886 found Dr. Long serving as state secretary of the Populist party and he was also a candidate for congress in the first Missouri district.

Displeased with the Populist endorsement of Bryan, and a semi-merging with the Democratic party, Dr. Long eschewed politics for a while, and entered the American school of Osteopathy at Kirkville, when Dr. A. T. Still was then at its head. Dr. Long graduated in 1899 and practiced for eight years in Iowa and Missouri.

He went to Eau Claire, Wisconsin in 1907 and for ten years was an organizer for the American Society of Equity. For three years he was national secretary and editor of the Equity News. "I stayed with the Equity" said Dr. Long, "until it was destroyed by designing men". Then he tried to save the

pieces by organizing the United Farmers of America.

Besides Dr. Long's legislative class there was another discussional group which has exerted influence on legislation. It met on Friday evening, sometimes in the offices of the legislative reference library, and sometimes at other offices at the capitol. This group took up fundamental social and economic questions and brought influence and information to members of the legislature. At one of the meetings Dr. John R. Commons of the university and Professor A. B. Forsberg discussed the unemployment insurance bill. At others, Lieutenant-governor Comings, Edward Nordman, Commissioner of markets, John Harrington of the state tax department, and William Kirsch, research assistant at the department of markets discussed the bill providing for a $1500 exemption on real estate improvements, and the Grimstad-Commons bill providing for a surtax on large land holdings. Problems of marketing were discussed by Glenn P. Turner and Commissioner Nordman. Bills calculated to weaken our vocational education laws were discussed by George P. Hambrecht, secretary of the board of vocational-education. Bills relating to various features of educational administration were discussed by Mrs. Glenn P. Turner.

During the 1921 session of the legislature, Mrs. Turner on every Monday evening reviewed the most important bills which were to be given hearings during the week, before a group of members of the Woman's Progressive Association. A legislative committee of the association appeared at the hearings to

speak for the measures favored by the progressive women, and to oppose reactionary measures.

Other organizations which took a similar interest, and whose representatives appeared at numerous hearings before both the 1921 legislature and the 1923 session were, the League of Women Voters, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Woman's Club, and the Woman's Trade Union League.

On September 18, 1922, there was held in the assembly chamber at the capitol a farmers' conference for tax reform attended by 134 delegates representing the Nonpartisan League and the Women's Progressive Association. Among the speakers who favored the program of legislation demanded by this conference were Lieutenant-governor Comings, Tax commissioner Charles D. Rosa, Assistant secretary of state, Lancelot A. Gordon, Income tax assessor, I. M. Stauffacher, Commissioner of Markets Edward Nordman, and Assemblyman James Oliver.

This conference declared in favor of a $1,500 exemption on farm improvements and homes; the repeal of the personal property offset to income taxes; the repeal of the secrecy clause of the income tax law; taxation to force idle lands into use held for speculative purposes; a graded registration fee on automobiles; opposition to a gasoline tax; and opposition to a valuation tax on automobiles to be paid at the secretary of state's office in addition to the registration fee.

Petitions in favor of this program of tax reform were widely circulated throughout the state and were presented to the legislature

from time to time. Of the seven demands of the tax conference one was partially met by the legislature, and four were fully complied with.

Of course, reactionary interests were also active in opposing reform measures and in seeking new laws granting special privileges and immunities.

All lobbyists (classified by law as legislative agents and legislative counsel) are required to file statements with the secretary of state giving their names and addresses, names and addresses of the persons, corporations or associations whom they represent, together with information as to the measures they favor. At the close of the session they are required to file sworn statements revealing all their expenditures.

There is no killing of bills by committees in the Wisconsin legislature. Every bill and joint resolution is referred to an appropriate committee, its passage or its indefinite postponement is recommended by that committee, and public hearings on all bills are held after due notice is given in the official bulletin of legislative hearings. Over 1200 bills were introduced in the 1923 session of which 550 were passed and received the governor's signature.

Inventories are usually uninteresting, but here is a partial list of the most important progressive bills enacted by the 1923 session of the legislature. They constitute a record which shows the true Wisconsin spirit.

Workmen's compensation indemnities were increased. The maximum for permanent disability was raised from $10,600 to $16,300 and other indemnities increased accordingly. Wis-

consin now grants more liberal indemnities under its workmen's compensation act than any other state.

The appropriation for the Wisconsin National Guard was decreased to about one-third of what it had been, and military training at Wisconsin university is made optional. The Wisconsin assembly passed a bill abolishing the National Guard entirely. The measure was killed in the senate.

A bill requires every organization or group which advocates or opposes any candidate for office to file a statement of expenditures and contributions.

An important bill was passed for the regulation and licensing of dance halls.

The law relating to injunctions arising out of labor disputes was so amended that injunctions can be granted only by a circuit judge, and upon not less than 48 hours' notice to show cause to the parties to be enjoined.

Motor busses are required to come to a full stop before passing grade crossings.

The law was repealed permitting the giving of free transportation or reduced fare to real estate agents.

The board of university regents has been enlarged by two members, and so amended that two members of the board must always be farmers, and two engaged in a manual trade.

The hours of labor of women are restricted to nine a day and fifty hours a week but permitting over-time in emergencies to 55 hours a week, time and a half to be paid for overtime.

Other bills were passed:

Forbidding the use of the name butter or the name of any breed of dairy cattle in advertising butter substitutes and requiring that all articles of food, kept in cold storage for more than 40 days must be sold under a placard announcing this fact.

Giving the legislature, by a majority vote, of each house, the right to remove appointive officials after a hearing.

Providing for the acceptance by the state of the federal maternity and infancy act.

Providing that all bread sold shall be in loaves in multiples of one pound.

Forbidding any women to be employed in hotels for more than ten hours between six A. M. and nine P. M., or more than nine hours between nine P. M. and six A. M., or more than 55 hours in the aggregate at day work, or 54 hours at night work, the Industrial Commission being given power to enforce these regulations.

Providing that on assessments of land used for agricultural purposes the element of increased value caused by clearing the land must not be taken into consideration for a period of three years.

Permitting verdicts of juries by a five-sixths vote.

Permitting peaceful picketing during strikes.

Providing that where there is an issue of fact raised because of the alleged violation of an injunction arising out of labor disputes there must be a trial by jury.

Forbidding directed verdicts on issues of fact triable by a jury.

Forbidding the adoption of text books in

public schools which falsify fact in regard to the war of Independence or the war of 1812, and providing for a public hearing on complaint of five citizens that a text book contains false matter.

Providing for a $500 exemption on homestead improvements.

Providing for an annual appropriation of $550,000 for the eradication of bovine tuberculosis.

The most disappointing feature to progressives in connection with the 1923 session was the failure of the tax bills. Wisconsin raises about 97 million dollars annually in property taxes, while income taxes yield only about six million dollars. The various tax bills which failed aimed to increase income taxes to an aggregate of about fifteen million dollars by larger rates on the higher incomes, so that property taxes might be decreased by about nine million dollars.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Nonpartisan League.

"We'll Stick—We'll Win" is the old time slogan of the National Nonpartisan League. The newer slogan of the Wisconsin League is "Keep the Progressive Movement Progressing". The League movement started in the winter of 1915, when A. C. Townley in North Dakota visited F. B. Wood, enlisted him as the first League booster, went out with him in his Ford, called on nine men, induced them all to join the movement, and after six days canvassing signed up 79 members. Not one had money enough to pay any dues, each one gave a check, dated the following October, when they expected to have money from their next wheat crop. The first League meeting was held at Glenburn. The speakers were Mr. Townley, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Wood's son, and at that meeting $925 was subscribed, on the strength of which Townley was able to secure two more cars, one of which was taken by A. E. Bowen who went into another part of the state to start the League movement. Soon Townley had 60 automobiles, each one manned by an organizer whom he had trained. A local booster was in each car. By July the League had 10,000 members, and in September the Nonpartisan Leader made its first appearance with 22,000 subscribers every one a member of the League. A state convention was held at Fargo, which endorsed Lynn J. Frazier for governor, and then secured his official nomination by carrying the Republican primary election of 1915. In November Frazier was elected, with other League candidates.

Here is the brief program to which all the original North Dakota League members subscribed:

1. State-owned terminal elevators, flour mills, stock yards, packing houses and cold storage plants.
2. State hail insurance.
3. Exemption of farm improvements from taxation.
4. State inspection of grain dockage and grain grading.
5. Rural credit banks operated at cost.

It was in 1917 that the League movement started in Wisconsin. O. A. Stolen, who was recently elected judge of the superior court in this state, took the first steps which led to the organization of the League. He was then a working farmer and had been for several years. In February, 1917, a meeting was held at Wausau for the purpose of organizing a farmers' co-operative packing company. Eight hundred farmers attended. It was at this meeting that Mr. Stolen introduced a resolution, which was unanimously adopted and which called for a farmers' convention to be held in Marshfield on the 22nd of March, 1917, "for the purpose of organizing the farmers of Wisconsin into a Nonpartisan League in order that the farmers of our state" said the resolution, "may obtain control of our state government, and our next delegation in congress at the next election."

The Marshfield meeting was attended by 250 farmers and 30 counties of the state were represented. Joseph Gilbert of Minnesota was present and addressed the farmers, in accordance with an invitation which had been sent to

League headquarters at Minneapolis, asking that a speaker should be sent to attend the Marshfield meeting, to explain the purposes of the League and its methods. Beecher Moore was selected as the first state manager, and his first organizer was Glenn P. Turner.

It was not thought wise to put up a state ticket in 1918, nor to put candidates in the field for the legislature, although the work of organizing went forward with astonishing success. But two years later when the League had a membership of 30,000 it held a state convention, "endorsed candidates" for state offices, carried the Republican primary election for most of these offices including governor, lieutenant-governor and secretary of state, and in the November election all the League candidates who had been nominated on the Republican ticket were elected.

Many persons in the east suppose that the Nonpartisan League is a political party. It is not. It uses the political machinery of one of the old parties to secure its end. Its enemies have compared it to the cuckoo which lays its eggs in other birds' nests. Many persons also think of the league as purely a farmers' movement. It is not. From the beginning it has been a farmer-labor movement. The labor forces united with the farmers in the first campaign in North Dakota. They were not taken into the League as members, because they had their own trade organizations.

In Wisconsin, preceding the successful campaign of 1920, a series of conferences were held in Milwaukee, attended by representatives of the League, the railroad brotherhoods,

the Committee of Forty-eight, the Society of Equity, the Socialist party and the State Federation of Labor. At these conferences a platform was drawn up which contained labor planks as well as farmer planks. For instance, it declared for an eight hour day, the right of collective bargaining, and the liberation of political prisoners. This platform known as the platform of the Farmer-Labor League was adopted with minor changes at the League state convention. So the candidates endorsed by the League convention stood on a platform formed by labor as well as farm organizations, and consequently received a general support from organized labor as well as from the organized farmers.

The public ownership plank attracted the most hostility from conservative forces, and was denounced as being dangerously socialistic. It read as follows:

"We oppose a guaranty of profit to any industry privately owned. We favor a repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law, and the ultimate public ownership of railroads, stock yards and terminals, grain elevators, packing plants, terminal warehouses, cold storage, and all other public utilities and all natural resources, the private ownership of which is made the basis of monopoly."

The wording of this plank was nearly the same as the wording in a plank of the platform upon which La Follette delegates had been elected to the national convention in the primary held in April, 1920.

The League convention of 1920 was held in Turner hall at Madison on June 15. Delegates were present from 30 counties, in which county conventions had been held. It endorsed James

Thompson of La Crosse for United States senator, John J. Blaine for governor, George F. Comings for lieutenant-governor, Elmer S. Hall for secretary of state, Christian Doerfler for attorney-general, Solomon Levitan for state treasurer and Edward Voight, Julian Lampert, and J. D. Beck for congress.

Emil Pladsen who was then state manager in calling the convention to order declared that Wisconsin had enrolled the largest number of new members to the League during the past year, of any state in the union.

Mr. Pladsen said he was not going to run the convention himself, but it was in the hands of the farmers who had elected their delegates to voice their wishes. Otto Onstad of Dane County was made chairman of the convention and George Konrad of Winnebago county secretary. The convention sent a telegram of congratulations to Senator La Follette and pledged support for the principles for which he was battling. Speakers at the convention were John Weller Long, George F. Comings, and C. B. Ballard. Mr. Ballard had been one of the regular delegates to the Republican national convention in Chicago, and he told some of his experiences. All the speakers discussed the need of a new party to represent progressives in the field of national politics.

After the convention had elected an executive committee, and endorsed state candidates, a committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Blaine and bring him before the convention. In his speech he said:

"I am willing to plank both feet on the League platform." Those who later sought to turn the League endorsement against Mr.

Blaine, again and again quoted his unqualified endorsement of the League platform.

Prior to 1921 the state government had been for four years controlled by reactionary policies with Emanuel L. Philipp in the governor's chair. This result was brought about through divisions in the progressive ranks so that the progressive vote in the Republican primaries was scattered among a number of candidates, while the stalwart vote concentrated on Governor Philipp. The Republican nomination was equivalent to an election. In fact, the real elections in Wisconsin are the primaries.

Often it has been said that direct primaries are a failure, because the voters will not generally participate. But it not infrequently happens in Wisconsin that in some districts more votes are cast in the primary than in the election following. Senator La Follette in 1922 received 362,000 votes in the primary and 379,000 votes in the November election.

The Democratic party in Wisconsin is as impotent as is the Republican party in most of the southern states. Wilson carried Wisconsin in 1912. And on the slogan "He kept us out of war" he came within 30,000 votes of carrying the state in 1916. But since that time the party has become more and more demoralized. In the legislature of 1921 there were only four Democrats, and in the legislature of 1923 there was only one.

In Wisconsin, in September, after the primary election has been held, the state and legislative candidates of the various parties hold what are known as official platform conventions. In the Republican platform convention

of 1920 there was a lively time when William J. Morgan, who had succeeded in being nominated for attorney general got a plank adopted which read as follows:

"We denounce the leadership of the Nonpartisan League, the I. W. W., the Communist party, and all other agencies seeking to undermine the principles of democracy, and advocating a program of state socialism, bolshevism or anarchy. We denounce the attempt of non-residents of Wisconsin through the leadership of the Nonpartisan League to control the Republican party in Wisconsin."

Following this convention a situation occurred unique in the political history in this country. The Republican candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor and secretary of state issued a signed statement repudiating the official platform of their party, William J. Morgan, the successful Republican candidate for attorney-general (in the primary) stumped the state for Robert B. McCoy, the Democratic candidate for governor who was running against Mr. Blaine. The Republican state committee refused to support the candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state because they had repudiated their official platform, and they refused to support the regular Republican candidate for attorney general because he was stumping the state for the Democratic candidate for governor.

An editorial in the Wisconsin Leader under the title "All Dressed up and No Place to Go" said:

"The Republican State central committee passed a resolution at its Milwaukee meeting saying it would give its active support 'only to

those state candidates who endorsed the party platform and candidates supporting the platform.'

"The candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary of state repudiated the Anti-League plank, and one other. So the committee cannot support them.

"The candidate for treasurer voted against the Morgan anti-league plank, so he cannot be for it, without stultifying himself. So the committee cannot support him.

"The candidate for attorney-general is supporting McCoy, and stumping the state with him. He cannot qualify for the committee's support, for McCoy certainly is not a candidate who supports the platform, with its endorsement of Harding and Coolidge, and the Republican national platform. No, the committee cannot support Morgan.

"So they have no candidate at all on the state ticket whom they can support."

In the campaign following, Blaine carried the Republican primary election by a majority of about 11,000 over his strongest competitor, Wilcox.

Comings carried the primary election by a majority of 41,000 over his strongest competitor, and Blaine carried the November election by a plurality of 112,615, and Comings by a plurality of 287,812. There was no Democratic candidate in the field against Mr. Comings.

I have spoken about the divisions in the ranks of the progressives which led to their defeat in the primary campaigns of 1916 and

1918. A similar result would probably have taken place in 1920, except for the influence of the Nonpartisan League which acted as a unifying force in the progressive ranks. Merlin Hull and E. F. Dithmar were in the field, claiming to be La Follette progressives. Colonel Seaman and Mr.Tittemore were also in the field and could claim progressive antecedents. But when the Nonpartisan League gave its endorsement to Mr. Blaine, voters throughout the state, understanding the strength of the farmer-labor movement, knew that if Mr. Wilcox, the stalwart candidate, was to be defeated, the vote of progressives must be concentrated upon Blaine. And to a considerable extent it was.

The results of the 1920 election were disappointing to the organized farmers and workers, although they had elected their principal state candidates. The Nonpartisan League had always declared that it wanted not offices, but laws. Comparatively little reform legislation was passed by the legislature of 1921. The League had elected two senators and 26 assemblymen. These senators and assemblymen had accepted League endorsement, and pledged support to the League platform. But the Leaguers hoped that there were enough La Follette progressives elected, from districts where the League was not organized, to insure the passage of many progressive measures. Bills were passed doubling inheritance taxes, strengthening and broadening the co-operative laws, and establishing a department of markets with a liberal appropriation for its sustenance. But a large number of supposedly progressive senators and assem-

blymen flagrantly violated the platform pledges upon which they were elected. The eight hour bills were killed. So were the bills providing for an increase in income taxes on the larger incomes, and for more liberal exemptions for those with small incomes. A joint resolution providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment establishing the referendum and recall was defeated. So was a bill granting powers to cities to establish and operate plants for the preparation and distribution of milk and other dairy products.

But many of Governor Blaine's appointments were gratifying to the organized farmers, particularly that of Edward Nordman as commissioner of markets, Charles D. Rosa as a member of the tax commission, Louis E. Gettle as railroad commissioner, R. G. Knutson as a member of the Industrial commission, and C. B. Ballard as treasury agent.

Judge Rosa endorsed the League platform, and had been the League candidate for congress in the primary election of 1920. Mr. Knutson had been the League candidate for Senator in the 32nd district. C. B. Ballard was a League organizer.

In the legislative session of 1923 farmer-labor measures fared much better, as recounted in another chapter. But a bill to regulate child labor in the beet fields, the cranberry marshes and in gardening for the canning industry failed to pass, so also did a bill intended to strengthen the compulsory education law.

Early in the campaign of 1922 an attempt was made by an organization calling itself the American Constitutional League to discredit

the Nonpartisan League and the progressive cause in the state.

Full page advertisements reeking with falsehood were published in a chain of daily papers. One of these advertisements described famine conditions in Russia and pictured the organized farmers in Wisconsin as traveling the road to bolshevism and ruin.

Governor Blaine in a speech at Milwaukee on July 26 showed that the American Constitutional League had raised for its campaign of villification $230,050, and that leading contributors to its fund were none other than certain big business corporations which had "withheld income taxes due the state."

Here is an abstract from Governor Blaine's Milwaukee speech:

"I have a list of the subscribers to this American Constitutional League of Wisconsin (sometimes known as the Constitutional Defense League) and I find on this list the name of the Holeproof Hosiery Company, that has withheld over $35,000 in income taxes, and has made a subscription to the Constitutional League of $1,500.

"The Kearney-Trecker Company which withheld over $59,000 in income taxes is on the list for $3,000. The Northwestern Malleable Iron Company which withheld over $69,000 is on the list for $2,000. The O. A. Smith Corporations which withheld in income taxes over $55,000 is on this list for $5,000. The Milwaukee Clearing House Association is on the list for a subscription of $20,000. The Falk Company is on the same list for $5,000. And so it goes. Fifteen corporations whose returns have been audited, and from which audit

it is shown that additional income taxes are due, are down on the list for $25,250 in subscriptions to the League, and the entire list shows a campaign fund of $230,050.

"I find the name of Oliver C. Fuller of the First Wisconsin National Bank of Milwaukee on that list for a $1,000 contribution, and this Mr. Fuller on February 24, 1921, wrote to Mr. Frank E. Bacon of the Cutler-Hammer Manufacturing Company of Milwaukee a letter from which I quote a part:

" 'Dear Mr. Bacon: Replying to your letter of the 10th instant asking for renewal of subscription and for guarantee for the next two years toward the expense of the American Constitutional League, I enclose my subscription for $500 to cover one year only.'

"J. H. Peulicher, president of the Marshall and Ilsley Bank of Milwaukee, who is well remembered in Wisconsin for his activity in the famous Stephenson barrel campaign is the treasurer of the American Constitutional League."

Governor Blaine in his speech, and the Capital Times of Madison in an editorial, represented the American Constitutional League as attacking the Blaine administration, and Senator La Follette. But the full page advertisements mentioned were all aimed directly at the Nonpartisan League, and only by implication were attacks made upon Senator La Follette and Governor Blaine. One advertisement was headed in black type, nearly an inch high, running across the top of the page: TOWNLEYISM MAKES SECOND RUSSIA OF NORTH DAKOTA—DO WE WANT IT IN

WISCONSIN? Here are the opening paragraphs of the advertisement:

"Over the wreck that once was Russia Lenine and Trotzky still rule by the power of their red army. Of the wildest experiment in socialism that the world has known, nothing remains but the tyranny. The Marxian economic system has been thrown overboard. The present problem of the bolsheviks is to win back the business men with capital, whom they set out to exterminate, without losing their grip on the government.

"Townley and Frazier of North Dakota, leaders of the greatest experiment in state socialism that the western hemisphere has known are also in retreat. Lacking the ability as well as the army of the bolsheviks, they have had to give up both their schemes and their authority. The parallel between Townleyism and Bolshevism is a close one in their socialistic origin and in their rise, course and dismal failure in attempting to effect an economic revolution among farmers.

"FARMERS ARE VICTIMIZED

"It was no revolutionary impulse on the part of the people of North Dakota that first gave Townley and his Nonpartisan League control of the state in 1915. It was a temporary abdication of reason and common sense by a worthy hard-working and fundamentally sound population. The wheat growers of the north had real grievances arising from certain practices in the grain trade, and they had been galled raw by the worst of political boss systems.

"To these irritated but well-meaning farmers came Townley, schooled in socialism as a party worker and candidate, followed by an army of professional radicals from everywhere including I. W. W's.

"WISCONSIN IS THREATENED

"The same revolutionary movement that produced chaos in North Dakota, under the same name, directed by the same men, employing the same method, and with the same purpose, has invaded Wisconsin. It made a bold and partially successful attempt to capture our state government in 1920 and will repeat the attempt in the approaching fall election. For that reason the record of the Nonpartisan League where it has had full power to exploit its project is of vital interest to Wisconsin people."

Then follows a partial history of League legislation, and its results in North Dakota, in which some truth is mixed with much falsehood. But nothing is said about the drouth which led to the failure of the wheat crops for two successive years, and wheat, be it remembered, is the main crop upon which North Dakota farmers depend. The advertisement closed with this paragraph:

"This is what the Nonpartisan League did for North Dakota. To Wisconsin as to other states it has come with its banner of class conflict, its dreams and its impossible promises. Do the people of this state want to adopt

a movement with such principles, under such leadership and with such a record?"

Another advertisement was headed "WRECK OF NONPARTISAN PROJECTS BRINGS CHAOS IN NORTH DAKOTA. SHALL WISCONSIN INVITE SUCH RUIN?"

Here are some paragraphs from this advertisement:

"Radicals in the state library filled boxes intended for circulation among rural schools and communities with books of a revolutionary character, including a treatise on free love, and a volume filled with vile aspersions on all religion and on the Lutheran and Catholic churches in particular.

"SOAKING THE RICH

"Another purely socialistic measure was a state income tax law by which personal incomes derived from rents, dividends and interest were taxed just twice as much as incomes derived from wages, salaries, and the profits of a personally conducted business.

"WISCONSIN MANAGER SAYS

"Emil Pladsen, Wisconsin manager of the Nonpartisan League was quoted by the Milwaukee Journal of January 31, as saying:

" 'I would not give a cent for the League if it were not headed toward socialism'.

"TOWNLEY RECANTS

"On leaving the Minnesota jail in which he served a 90 day jail sentence for disloyal utterances during the war, Townley was quoted by the press association as saying that he 'was through with socialism', and that socialism was 'the parasite that created all the hard feeling against the League during the war.'

"At the peak of the movement the Nonpartisan League was the most powerful political machine in America, next to the two great national parties. It was established in 13 states. General headquarters were opened in St. Paul and from there the League chief directed an army of paid organizers, lecturers and writers. The Republican organization in North Dakota was captured, and attempts were made to do the same thing in other states. Townley flew here and there in an aeroplane.

"Does Wisconsin want to pay North Dakota's price for an economic revolution?"

But the efforts of the Constitutional League to frighten Wisconsin voters with the bogie of bolshevism, and by attributing to the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, the agricultural distress which had been caused by drouth, the low price of wheat and the failure rather than the success of League legislation, did not work at all for Blaine and Comings were re-elected by the unprecedented majorities quoted in a former paragraph.

Contrast the picture of what the Constitutional League said the Nonpartisan League was aiming to do with the legislative program which it did advocate in 1922.

On September 18, 1922, after the primary election had been held, and just before the official platform conventions were held, the Nonpartisan League held a Farmer's Tax Conference in which the State Woman's Progressive Association also took part, as recounted in chapter VII.

This conference passed a series of resolutions demanding tax reduction measures which it was estimated would decrease farm taxes by at least one-third.

These resolutions demanded (1) a $1500 exemption on homestead improvement; (2) the repeal of the personal property offset to income taxes; (3) the repeal of the secrecy clause of the income tax law; (4) taxation to force idle lands into use held for speculative purposes; (5) a graded registration fee on automobiles, (starting with a minimum of $5 for used Fords) and a declaration was made against the imposition of a gasoline tax.

These were the "revolutionary" measures which terrorized the promoters of the American Constitutional League, and to prevent which this organization raised a campaign fund of more than $250,000.

Following the tax conference, petitions addressed to the legislature asking for action along the line of the League's proposed program for tax reduction were prepared. These petitions were sent out into all parts of the state. League organizers, League boosters, and members of the Woman's Progressive Association secured thousands of signatures, and the petitions were presented to the various assemblymen and senators in whose districts they had been circulated.

When the official party platform conventions were held, a committee from the Farmers' Conference for Tax Reform appeared before the committees on resolutions of these conventions, and asked that planks embodying the demands of the tax conference should be put in the respective party platforms. Miss Ada James, president of the Woman's Progressive Association headed the committee which waited on the resolutions committee of the Republican convention, but the League was successful in having only one of its demands made a part of the Republican platform, namely the demand for the repeal of the secrecy clause of the income tax law.

The vagueness and indefiniteness of the Republican platform of 1920 was one of the main causes for the failure of tax reform legislation in the session of 1921.

Glenn P. Turner appeared for the League before the Socialist convention. Here the League was entirely successful and the Socialist platform contained planks declaring in favor of our entire program of tax reduction. The Socialist members of the legislature, faithful to the platform pledges of their party, gave unanimous support to all the League's tax reform bills.

The Democratic convention indorsed none of our program. The Prohibition platform endorsed a part of it.

When the legislature convened, the legislative committee of the League saw to it that bills were introduced, calculated to carry out our program, and at all the public hearings on these bills the organized farmers were represented.

There was a big demonstration at the conference when a person unknown to the officers of the conference sent up to the platform the following:

"WHEREAS, Robert M. La Follette, U. S. Senator from the state of Wisconsin has, for almost forty years, devoted his life to public service in behalf of the people as a whole and has advanced and advocated those policies and principles of government which place humanity above privilege, and

"WHEREAS, by his public conduct and marvellous insight and devotion to the welfare of the common man he has risen to the commanding position of one of the leading statesmen of the world,

"NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that there should be organized in every precinct of Wisconsin a 'La Follette for President' Club to be composed of men and women who favor La Follette for President in 1924, which shall provide such means as they may determine best suited to advance the cause of his nomination.

"That such club should collect a fund from the people of one dollar each to defray the expenses of such campaign.

"RESOLVED FURTHER, That these clubs should form a state organization and should invite and urge upon the people of other states to form like organizations for the purposes stated."

With the adoption of this resolution there was started the first organized movement to make Senator La Follette a presidential candidate in 1924. Mrs. W. Z. Mendelson acted as temporary treasurer. She collected a con-

siderable amount in one dollar memberships at the conference, and continued her work of enrolling members for some time thereafter.

The election of Dr. Shipstead and Magnus Johnson in Minnesota on a Farmer-Labor party ticket has led many to assume that the whole Nonpartisan League movement, in all the thirteen states where it has been organized, will be merged into a new Farmer-Labor party. This may be the case. The sentiment for a Farmer-Labor party in Wisconsin is strong. But we do not need a new party except in the field of national politics, as explained in another chapter. As to progressive reforms which may be accomplished by state action, our primary laws allow the League to work successfully through the progressive wing of the Republican party.

To be sure, we have not had a large measure of success in obtaining tax reform legislation, but in two state campaigns we have elected our principal state officers, and had Governor Blaine shown greater capacity as a leader of the progressive forces of the state, we would have been able to reduce farm taxes for the smaller working farmers by at least one-third, and in fact the whole League program might have been enacted into law.

Wisconsin Leaguers may congratulate themselves upon being pioneers in a farmer-labor movement which has been mainly responsible for the election of seven U. S. senators, fourteen congressmen and four governors.

CHAPTER IX.

War-Time Outrages.

The Nonpartisan League in Wisconsin has suffered less from persecution and acts of lawlessness on the part of its enemies than have League members and leaders in other states. Joseph Gilbert of Minnesota, one of the founders of the League in this state served two terms in jail, one of one year and another of three months.

In the Gilbert case the supreme court held outright that the expression of certain opinions is a crime. Mr. Gilbert had said that the people really had no voice in the selection of their officials, that voting was an ineffectual remedy for the evils of society because the candidates and the platform were prepared in advance by political bosses acting as agents for big business interests.

Gilbert's indictment charges that he used the following language in a speech:

"We are going over to Europe to make the world safe for democracy, but I tell you we had better make America safe for democracy first. You say, 'What is the matter with our democracy?' I tell you what is the matter with it: Have you had anything to say as to who should be president? Have you had anything to say as to who should be Governor of this state? Have you had anything to say as to whether we would go into this war? You know you have not. If this is such a good democracy, for Heaven's sake why should we not vote on conscription of men? We were stampeded into this war by newspaper rot to

pull England's chestnuts out of the fire for her. I tell you if they conscripted wealth like they have men, this war would not last over forty-eight hours." * * *

Notwithstanding the large German population in this state, Wisconsin on the whole gave a support to the war that won the praise of pro-war advocates in authority at Washington. This was the first state in the union to create a state council of defense by legislative action, and to perfect the organization of state and county councils. It had its four-minute men, Y. M. C. A. campaigns, and Red Cross and Liberty Loan activities which were generally supported.

Its Liberty Loan campaigns were supported not wisely but too well. Bands of night riders, imitating Ku Klux methods, secured Liberty Loan subscriptions, sometimes by hauling farmers out of bed, and adopting gun-men's methods. One Liberty Loan parade had an old animal cage on a truck, and in this cage, with straw in the bottom, was an old lady over 70 years of age who was displayed as a horrible example of a person who would not take the full quota of bonds which had been assigned to her. A placard on the cage read "This is the Kaiser's Wife."

Senator La Follette spoke at a Nonpartisan League convention at St. Paul. Among other things, he said,

"For my part, I was not in favor of beginning this war. I do not mean to say we had not suffered grievances. We had, at the hands of Germany, serious grievances."

The Chicago Tribune of September 21, 1917,

the Washington Post, the New York Times and various other papers quoted him as follows:

"For my own part I was not in favor of beginning this war. We had no grievance against Germany."

The speech was stenographically reported and Senator La Follette was able to prove exactly what he *did* say, but few papers ever corrected the false story published.

The senator was expelled from the Madison Club, burned in effigy on the campus of the university, condemned in a round robin signed by nearly all the members of the faculty of the university, and censured by resolutions passed by the state legislature, besides being called upon to resign by numerous Rotary clubs, chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations.

Louis B. Nagler at one time a League organizer, and before that assistant secretary of state, and who was also office secretary of the La Follette Progressive Association during the campaign of 1920 was convicted for a violation of the espionage act and sentenced to a long term in prison. He took an appeal of his case to the circuit court, and the appeal was allowed to sleep for two or three years, and then the case against Mr. Nagler was dismissed. The appeal was taken upon the ground that no offense punishable under the espionage act was alleged. Mr. Nagler was accused of adversely criticizing the Y. M. C. A.

George W. Schmidt of Stanley ventured to say a few words on the street in defense of Senator La Follette's action on certain war measures before congress. He was arrested

and locked up on a charge of inciting a riot. Mr. Schmidt is a graduate of Syracuse university and of the university of Freiburg, Germany. He was born in Minnesota and has been an academy teacher and a college professor for 26 years. What the Clark county people think of him is in a measure indicated by his being elected Assemblyman in 1922, receiving over 3,000 votes to 1,001 cast for his opponent.

But notwithstanding all these things the League organization from the time of its formation received such a hearty support from leading farmers throughout the state, and grew so amazingly in numbers and influence that methods of intimidation which worked well in some other states had little effect here.

The case of Ralph Lutter illustrates the methods which were used in attempts to prevent the farmers from organizing during war time.

Mr. Lutter's home is at 322 West 42nd St., New York City. Being a liberal, he read with interest of the League movement in the northwest. He opened up a correspondence with the League headquarters in Minneapolis and subscribed for a study course in farm economics, consisting of 20 pamphlets, which were sent to him from League headquarters.

Then he went to Madison and applied to Beecher Moore for a job as organizer. He was sent into territory near Shawano in Shawano county which was under the management of Frank Shoemaker. He travelled in a Ford car with one of Shoemaker's organizers for a few days to become familiar with the League methods and then was left at Clintonville in

Waupaca county, until a car could be sent to him.

He was surprised one day to be tapped on the shoulder by the village constable who said: "Come with me to the district attorney's office". Arrived there he found his suit case had been seized and opened and the 20 pamphlets on farm economics were displayed on the district attorney's desk. He was given a grilling as to where the "Socialist literature" came from, and what he was doing with it. He was put in the village lock-up, and the next day taken before the county judge for another grilling.

"How long have you been in this country" asked the judge.

"Forty-three years," said Mr. Lutter.

"Do you mean you were born here?"

"Certainly", said Mr. Lutter.

"Well, why didn't you say so?"

At this point, Mr. Lutter says, the mutterings of the court house crowd became articulate, and several times he distinguished the cries:

"Get a rope! Get a rope!"

And then Mr. Lutter had the audacity to ask the court a question:

"Is there any law against farmers organizing?"

Then followed a scene, Mr. Lutter says, that reminded him of the time when Oliver Twist asked for more.

"I am not here to answer any questions for you", said the judge. "You seem to think this is a joke, let me tell you we have just sent a man to prison for twenty years. The department of justice will take care of your case. We are not going to allow the Nonpartisan

League to organize in this section. These men are all against the government."

When arrested, Mr. Lutter was searched, and had his pocket book taken containing $98. He was warned not to leave town, which of course he could not do without money. He was kept in Clintonville for about five days and then released with a warning to leave town, and to have nothing more to do with the Nonpartisan League.

This illustrates the methods used to intimidate League organizers. But they were ineffectual. The League flourished mightily, and some of its organizers, like Mr. Shoemaker, really enjoyed the game. Mr. Lutter tells of attending one meeting called by Mr. Shoemaker which was held at two o'clock in the morning. At this meeting Mr. Shoemaker read selections from a volume which he called "The League Bible", making appropriate comments as he read. He was interrupted by one farmer who said "I believe this is a Socialist meeting, and you are reading from a Socialist or Anarchist book." After some more selections Mr. Shoemaker passed the book around for the farmers to look at it. It was "The New Freedom," by Woodrow Wilson.

As to methods sometimes used in pushing Liberty Loan campaigns, we will let John Deml, of Outagamie County tell his own story, in his own words:

"About half past twelve, Sunday morning, October 20, (this was in 1918) my wife awakened me, saying that there were a large number of men on the front porch pounding and rapping on the door, besides calling out. I

was up stairs, I came down and went to the front door where they were and asked 'Who do you want?' 'What is the matter?' Several answered at once: 'This is the Council of Defense.'

"I then asked again 'What do you want?' and they answered 'We want you to sign up'. I answered 'I have done my share', and they asked me 'when', and I replied, 'I did my share in the spring'. (That is I meant to say I had done my share in the Third Loan, when I subscribed $450 in bonds.) To make it plain, on the 28th of September, at the opening of the Fourth Drive, I was notified by letter that my bond assessment would be $500. When Henry Bauman came to see me, I told him I could not possibly take $500 now, but would take some, meaning a substantial amount, that is all I could afford; and he replied 'My orders are that you must take $500 or nothing.'

"After I had replied that I had done my share in the spring, they demanded that I open the door and let them in. I told them I didn't have to open the door; they undertook to force the door open and went as far as to tear the screen door open; then they threatened to break down the door, and I said, 'Come on then, boys.' Then they appeared to be planning something, and while they were doing that, I took the time to put on my shoes. By that time they were at the kitchen door, and they made a demand that I let them through that door; then I went to the kitchen door and opened it and found a crowd of men (much larger than I expected) around the door, and then reaching out two by two around towards the front of the house. I left the door and walked to the front of the porch to see if they

had done any painting (as they had previously painted yellow a neigbhor's mail box); I walked to the road to see if they had painted my mail box. And then I turned around to return to the house when all at one time closed in on me like a vise; some grabbing my fingers, or wrist, others my legs and several of them shouting, holding a paper before me, 'Sign up,' they said. I said 'I will not sign up at this time of the night,' then a man shouted, 'Get a rope.'

"The first I knew was when the rope was about my neck and around my body, and under my arms. Someone then gave a sharp jerk at the rope and forced me to my knees and hands; at the same time some of them jumped on my back, and while bent over someone struck me in the face, making me bleed; then a man (whom I recognized) said, 'Boys, you are going too far'; and then as they got me away from them a little, I heard a man say, 'You can't scare him.' Then a man (whom I knew) got me to one side, and he said 'Let's go into the house and talk between ourselves.' Then two men went with me into the house, and we stood around the table, and they still demanded that I sign up. I said 'I will not sign up for any man after being abused like this.' Then a man (whom I knew), told me I would have to go with them, would have to come to town that Sunday morning at 10 o'clock to see Mr. Keller. I told them that I would be there; they then left, as they left I noticed, and so did my family and neighbors that they rode away in several automobiles. I did not go to see Mr. Keller."

It is needless to say that Mr. Deml could

get no redress in the courts, although he knew the men who assaulted him. The first case for damages against them was dismissed on the grounds that someone had helped Mr. Deml financially in prosecuting the case. The case was tried a second time and the jury disagreed. The defendants had six lawyers.

Merritt Black, who lived near Kaukanna, was treated by Liberty Bond solicitors with the same technique that was pursued in Mr Deml's case. Mr. Black is now in the insane asylum in his county and is considered an incurable. Mrs. Black brought suit against her husband's assaulters, alleging the moderate sum of $20,000 damages. The jury disagreed, standing eight for conviction and four for acquittal. An appeal is pending.

Here is the way a Liberty Loan collection committee traveled out of the City of Milwaukee.

Twenty-five automobiles containing sixty to seventy highly respectable and super-patriotic citizens of Milwaukee.

One Color Guard (a flag at the head) with two Home Guardsmen.

One bugler.

Two Deputy Sheriffs,

One official photographer,

One official stenographer,

One banker, to make arrangements to lend the farmer the money in case he protests that he has subscribed too liberally already.

This procession stops in front of a farmer's house, some of the autos drive into his yard. If he is not at home they go down in the field where he is doing his fall plowing. They form a semi-circle about him and hold a short Lib-

erty Loan meeting. The speech-maker ends up by telling the farmer the amount of his assessment. He is told "Sign on this line".

If he is a fighter and will not be intimidated, the patriotic workers have a large package of yellow cards reading: "THE OCCUPANT OF THESE PREMISES HAS REFUSED TO TAKE HIS JUST SHARE OF LIBERTY BONDS. DO NOT REMOVE."

It was reaction from such incidents as these which swelled the Socialist growth in the next election, giving them 17 representatives in the assembly and four in the state senate.

It is the recollection of such incidents which helped to give Senator La Follette his tremendous come-back in the election of 1922, when in certain districts he received a unanimous vote, in both the primary and the November election.

CHAPTER X.

University Extension.

The spirit animating university extension work was expressed well by President Van Hise when he said, "I shall never rest content until the beneficent influence of the University of Wisconsin shall be carried to every home in the state".

It is also well expressed by a quotation found on the cover page of a pamphlet on Adult Education prepared by Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick of the State Board of Education.

"Adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns only a short span of early manhood, adult education is a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship, and therefore should be both universal and life long."

In the first chapter in this volume I have described briefly the Wisconsin system of part-time schools. We have two public agencies of adult education occupying, however, different fields. The part-time schools carry on their work with adult population, principally through evening classes, and the work of the evening schools is largely along the line of trade extension. University extension work is carried on through, 1—correspondence study, 2—debate and public discussion, and 3—group and community service.

A recent report of the commission on agricultural and industrial training says:

"The university extension division cannot from its very nature do the permanent work of the continuation and trade schools. There

is a parallel between its methods and work and those of the early church organizations. It was necessary at first to have some kind of missionary work, as perhaps some little local demand became evident. Then circuit riders were sent around, men who preached one Sunday in one little town and the next Sunday in another; the circuits grew smaller as time went on until churches were built, pastors secured, and permanent organizations established in each town.

"The university extension work can follow the same method. When little centers are established, permanent buildings erected and permanent preachers secured, then the university extension work can be used as a sort of circuit riding organization for the still higher grades of work until the need of the higher grades are supplied by permanent organizations. This way the university extension work can form the means of building up the whole system from one which deals even with the needs of a single individual in a little community to a complete system for the whole state."

The correspondence study department recognizes that persons ambitious for an education have a right to claim assistance from the state even though circumstances (usually poverty) prevents them from attending the university.

This is the way the university has broadened its field. It admitted women in 1866. In 1885 it established farmers' institutes in connection with the college of agriculture. Then it established short courses in agriculture. In

1898 the summer school was established for those who had no time or means to become regular students. In 1900 the summer school for artisans and apprentices was started and in 1906 the correspondence study department was established.

A bulletin concerning the department states that it is intended:

1. For those who must work for their living but wish to advance themselves in their own line while they work.

2. For the man too old or unable to go to school who yet needs more knowledge in his own profession, or who seeks to change his vocation.

3. For the student who is preparing for college or university.

4. For the teacher who finds new demands springing up by the advance in education.

5. For the young man or woman who wishes to prepare for a business career.

6. For the isolated man who desires some interest outside of himself.

7. For housekeepers and home makers who wish to keep up with the times.

8. For the practical men in business, the professions and vocations; to those in public service,—in fact to all who are eager for knowledge or advancement, and are reaching out for mental stimulants, and desire to keep abreast with the times.

Regular university studies may be carried on and credits obtained toward a degree, but not less than one year's work must be done in residence at the university. Students are recommended to pursue only one course at a time. A registration fee of $2 is charged for

each course. Fees for the various courses vary from $3 to $25.

Here is a list of some of the courses given, astronomy, bacteriology and hygiene, botany, business administration, business organization and management, bookkeeping and accounting, business law, retailing, commercial correspondence, commercial and industrial geography, chemistry, education, electrical engineering, English, French, geology and mineralogy, German, Greek, health, Hebrew, history, home economics, Italian, Latin, manual arts, mathematics, mechanical drawing mechanical engineering, meteorology, music, pharmacy, philosophy, physics, political economy, political science, public speaking, Spanish, structural engineering and surveying.

The state is divided into districts, and in each district at essential points is established an office or district headquarters, over which a representative of the university presides. Associated with this person are district and traveling instructors who give personal assistance and instruction to students. Sometimes they conduct classes, for groups pursuing correspondence work. Headquarters for the various districts are located at Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Superior, Wausau, and Eau Claire.

Provision is made in connection with many correspondence courses for laboratory practice. In some courses laboratory outfits are sent to the student from the university to be set up in his own home. In other cases special arrangements are made for short periods of laboratory practice at the university, and in

some studies, local branch laboratories are established.

The department of debating and public discussion is intended to foster an interest in social, political and economic subjects. The department collects loan libraries which are sent out to residents of Wisconsin, issues bulletins and keeps in touch by correspondence or personal interviews with social centers, civic clubs, farmers', women's and business men's clubs; school and library boards; literary societies of education institutions, particularly rural, state graded, county agricultural and county training schools, seminaries, and academies.

The department of group and community service issues bulletins on subjects of timely interest. Connected with it is a lecture bureau, a bureau of municipal information, another of visual instruction, another dealing with community development and still another dealing with commercial and industrial relations.

The bureau of visual instruction has a large supply of lantern slides, motion picture films, charts, exhibits and other illustrative material which it lends out.

Wisconsin was a pioneer among American universities in establishing extension work and Dr. Charles McCarthy of the Legislative Reference library and Frank Hutchins, a librarian of the Traveling Library were pioneers in establishing extension work in Wisconsin.

University extension work has grown amazingly within recent years. Over 21,000 persons enrolled for such work last year, of whom

about 15,000 were men and 6,000 women. Louis Ehrhart Reber is Dean of the university extension division and Professor William Henry Lighty secretary of the correspondence-study department.

The legislature of 1923 made a special appropriation of $150,000. for a building to be used for university extension classes in Milwaukee.

CHAPTER XI.

Robert M. La Follette.

How do Wisconsin people estimate Senator La Follette? No man has expressed their sentiment more vigorously, or with more literary skill than did William T. Evjue in an editorial which he wrote for the Capital Times following the primary election of 1920. I will quote it:

"WISCONSIN'S GREATEST SON"

"One little man,—one lonely figure.

"One little man,—a two year target of one of the most terrific campaigns ever launched to destroy an individual; one human being,—standing up against the angry roar of a war when a nation permitted hatred to take the seat of reason; one individual,—drawing the attack of a national pulpit, press and film; one FIGHTER,—standing with his back to the wall and staving off the avalanche which the tremendous power of organized wealth was able to let loose.

"Odds? Were ever odds greater against ONE MAN?

"Standing at the end of two years in which he had borne a load such as few men could carry; maligned and misrepresented for many weary months; compelled to hold his ground practically alone, VINDICATION has finally come to Wisconsin's greatest son, Robert M. La Follette.

"Last Tuesday the sons of Wisconsin used that great instrument of democracy, the ballot, and in no uncertain terms they gave Senator La Follette a personal endorsement such

as but few men fighting alone have ever received.

"Two years ago there were but few men who had the courage to stand with Wisconsin's little giant. The enemies of democracy had so effectively employed the passion and hatred and hysteria of war against him that the man who refused to denounce La Follette as an enemy of this country was given the badge of DISLOYALTY.

"Reactionary enemies of the senator who siezed the places of power in the conduct of the war proceeded immediately to use their vast powers to destroy the senator and his friends.

"A great university, to whose upbuilding no man had made a greater contribution than Senator La Follette, witnessed the spectacle of its faculty besmirching the name of the greatest alumnus Wisconsin ever turned out.

"It was in this state that La Follette reared a movement which was the greatest contribution of its kind to a democracy which spelled economic justice and in which humanity was placed above property. And yet the legislature of this state was driven by the powers of wealth to join in the campaign to place La Follette forever outside the pale of good citizenship.

"Social organizations, dominated by men who made millions out of the war, removed the senator's name from their membership rolls.

"The story is too recent for extended amplification. Wisconsin still has fresh in its mind the outrageous treatment that was accorded the bravest man who ever came from within her borders.

"Meanwhile, during all these cruel months Senator La Follette was patiently biding his time. This campaign of calumny was only new to the senator because of its increased ferocity. For twenty-five years the senator had been withstanding the attacks of privilege and wealth in every conceivable form.

"He knew back of this campaign his old enemies were pulling the wires and directing the moves by which it was planned to encompass his downfall. He knew the REAL reasons that compelled the cowardly editors of the state to join in the united chorus against the senator. He knew only too well the manner in which the editorial pages of this country respond to the wishes of organized wealth.

"La Follette knew, too, that the people of this state would ultimately see through the campaign. He was content, therefore, to go along and await the final verdict of the people.

"That verdict has come, and what an overwhelming answer it is to those who took part in the campaign to destroy Wisconsin's greatest son.

"One little man,—one lonely figure. He is a little over five feet tall. What little he has of worldly goods is mortgaged. He is small in stature and he is poor. And ONE MAN beats the combined power of the millions in wealth in this state; he beats the combined power of a press which stopped at nothing to smash him; he beats the combined assault of privilege and wealth SINGLE HANDED and ALONE.

"The pages of Wisconsin history are filled with the deeds of her illustrious sons. But

none can be more dramatic or inspiring than the page that was written last Tuesday."

The editorial was widely quoted. It received commendation from Arthur Brisbane as being one of the most notable in the history of American journalism.

Accompanying the editorial was a poem dedicated to Senator La Follette, written by William Ellery Leonard of the University of Wisconsin. It follows:

"VINDICATED

In the Valley of Decision,
Down the Road of Things-that-are,
You gave to us a vision,
You appointed us a star
And through Cities of Derision
We followed you from far.

On the Hills beyond Tomorrow,
On the Road of Things-to-do,
With that strength of hand we borrow
As we borrow soul from you,
We know not sloth nor sorrow
And we build your vision true."

The primary election which called out the editorial quoted was that in which delegates were elected to the Republican National convention of 1920. But when Senator La Follette was a candidate for re-election in 1922 he received a still greater vindication. His opponent in the primary was Dr. William Ganfield, a college president and a Kentucky-trained, fiery orator. Senator La Follette received

362,000 votes to 139,000 votes for Dr. Ganfield. In the November election following, he ran against Mrs. Jessie J. Hooper, who was nominated by petition as an independent Democrat, as she did not receive votes enough in the primary election to secure a place on the official Democratic ballot. Senator La Follette received 379,000 votes, Mrs. Hooper 78,000, the Prohibition candidate 11,000. The regular Socialist party put up no candidate for senator but an independent Socialist candidate received 1,600 votes. These figures, speaking loud as they do, are not so impressive as is the fact that although nearly all the newspapers in the state of large circulation and influence supported Dr. Ganfield, yet there were many districts in which he did not get even a single vote.

Here, for instance, are the returns from the village of Fall Creek, Eau Claire county: Primary election, La Follette 142, Ganfield 2; November election, La Follette 214, Hooper 0. Town of Lincoln, Eau Claire county: Primary election, La Follette 253, Ganfield 2; November election, La Follette 210, Hooper 0.

Here are some returns of the November election in towns in Green county:

Cadiz, La Follette 179, Hooper 0. Clarno, La Follette 247, Hooper 0; Jefferson, La Follette 262, Hooper 0; Washington, La Follette 132, Hooper 0; New Glarus, La Follette 249, Hooper 7; Monticello, La Follette 220, Hooper 8; City of Monroe, 3rd Ward, La Follette 398, Hooper 0; City of Monroe, 4th Ward, La Follette 300, Hooper 0.

And so the election returns ran in many parts of the state.

Will La Follette be the next president? Champ Clark in his autobiography has a chapter on "War--made presidents". Have we become highly enough civilized in this country to have a "Peace-made president"? Clark shows how the revolutionary war made Washington president and aided Monroe and Jackson. The war of 1812 made Jackson and William Henry Harrison presidents, and helped General Louis Cass, General Zachary Taylor and General Winfield Scott to get presidential nominations. The Mexican war made presidents of Taylor and Pierce, and the Civil war made Grant president and contributed to the election of General Rutherford B. Hayes, General James A. Garfield, General Benjamin Harrison and Major William McKinley. It also nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock for president in 1880 and General Frank T. Blair for vice-president in 1868. Our war with Spain elevated Colonel Theodore Roosevelt to the presidency.

But the World War, the greatest of all, does not seem likely to make any president. It is remarkable that none of the leading candidates now being talked of as possible Republicans and Democratic nominees are military men, and La Follette's candidacy owes its strength in a large measure to his being an advocate of peace. And not the kind of a peace advocate who opposes all wars except the present war, or the war which he sees in the immediate future.

In another chapter I have told of the indignities and insults heaped upon La Follette during war time. It has been said that as a liberal, his judgment and understanding are question-

ed because of his position during the national crisis preceding and during the war, but on the contrary he is now honored because he did not fail in true leadership and had a clear vision when the war propagandists were most active, a vision that did not fail, although no-one would ride in the senate elevator with him, that did not fail when he saw his old time political friends voting a resolution of censure in the legislature, that did not fail when his old time friends in the faculty of Wisconsin university signed a round robin of censure, and had his picture removed from the so-called "Hall of fame" in Bascom Hall, that did not fail when he was expelled from the Madison Club by his old-time friends in social circles, and that did not fail when his expulsion from the senate seemed imminent.

It has been said that while the resolution for his expulsion from the senate was pending that he showed signs of retreating from some of the positions he had taken. It is true that for a period he was absent from the senate on account of the serious illness of one of his sons. But you may look through the files of La Follette's Magazine during the war period without finding any evidence that he stultified himself on any issues growing out of the war.

He opposed the armed ship bill as unconstitutional. He declared that England established the first war zone in violation of international law and said "I am opposed to the United States making war upon England for her ruthless violation of our neutral rights just as I am opposed to making war upon Germany because of her relentless violations of our neutral rights. We acquiesced in England's ac-

tion without protest. It is now proposed that we go to war with Germany for the same action on her part".

He commended President Wilson's "Peace without victory" speech to the senate. He spoke against conscription on April 27, and said:

"Within a few months under a pretext of carrying democracy to the rest of the world we have done more to undermine and destroy democracy in the United States than it will be possible for us as a nation to repair in a generation of time".

He spoke on the right of citizens to oppose war, showing how Lord Chatham spoke against England's war on the colonies while it was in progress, how Lincoln in the house of representatives opposed the Mexican war in 1848, how Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and Charles Sumner also opposed the Mexican war.

He criticized President Wilson's proclamation placing an embargo upon the shipment of all food grains, flour, meat, fats, etc., to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Switzerland and said that it meant "Dare to remain neutral and you starve."

He quoted President Wilson as saying that the national guard could not be sent outside of the United States.

He introduced a peace resolution in the senate on August 11 declaring that congress should make a public re-statement of the allies' peace terms, based on a disavowal of any advantages in the way of indemnities, territorial acquisition, commercial privileges or economic prerogatives.

He opposed the war revenue bill contending that it should have imposed heavier taxes upon war profits and surplus incomes. He said:

"But war profits and surplus incomes must be dealt with gently if the war is to be successfully prosecuted. That is the reasoning of the majority of the congress, who will write this bill into the law, and who at the present time are controlling the destinies of the people". He presented a substitute bill which was supported by Senators Borah, Brady, Gronna, Johnson, Cal., Jones, Wash., Kenyon, McNary, Norris.

He delivered on October 6 a notable speech in defense of the rights of free speech, claiming the right of the people to discuss war issues, pro and con, and quoted many American statesmen in support of his position. He sent a letter to Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow condemning the brutal assault which was made on him, saying:

"It pleased Providence to select you for this sacrifice and service which will write your name beside those of Lovejoy, Phillips and Parker who taught another generation that no power on earth could suppress free speech in this country".

He published in La Follette's Magazine the net incomes reported by certain corporations doing business in Wisconsin, to illustrate how these concerns profited by war while the masses suffered. He showed up the hogs of Hog Island, presenting facts as to profiteering and inefficiency as revealed by the inquiry of the senate committee on commerce.

But La Follette by no means voted against all measures supporting the war. He voted

for the appropriation bills. He supported the food survey bill. He favored a bill called the "trading with the enemy act." He supported the second great appropriation for the war amounting to over five billion dollars.

In a chapter on the Farmer-Labor party I have partly explained Senator La Follette's attitude toward a new party movement. The senator will undoubtedly be a candidate in the regular Republican convention, and will have a strong support, but I believe that before the convention is held he will make plain the fact that if a reactionary platform is adopted, and a reactionary candidate named he will feel under no obligation to support the ticket, and I believe he will be guided in his action largely by the position taken by the Conference for Progressive Political action organized in Chicago in December, 1921, and which held its second meeting in Cleveland in December, 1922.

One cannot wonder that La Follette hesitates to take any action which would destroy the influential position which he now occupies in congress. Besides being the leader of an independent political group which will comprise about 15 senators and 34 representatives in the next congress, his 18 years of service in the upper house now makes him the third member of both the interstate commerce committee and the finance committee. These two committees, with the committee on appropriations, largely control economic legislation. The most important economic reforms must originate either in the finance or the interstate commerce committees. McCumber's defeat in North Dakota will advance Smoot to

the chairmanship of the finance committee and will make La Follette the ranking member.

As to present-day economic reforms, in the Republican national convention of 1908 La Follette presented a minority platform. Of its 13 planks, 12 have since been enacted into law.

In the Republican national convention of 1920 he submitted a minority platform, in harmony with the platform upon which the Wisconsin delegates were elected to the convention, which declared in favor of the government taking over all meat packing plants, and allied industries.

Only another poem can sum up the thoughts I have endeavored to sketch in this chapter. It is by Charles H. Winke of Milwaukee:

TO ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

I

You are the idol of your green-hued State;
Filled with a purpose that has known no pause,
You still are champion of a People's cause!
Through bitter years of conflict, early, late,
You braved the foe, unmindful of your fate,
That Privilege be banished from the laws;
And though you won the multitude's applause,
The Few heaped on you ridicule and hate.

La Follette! ours is still the ancient strife
That Liberty has waged from time unknown
Against Oppression in its changing guise;
O lighten not the labor of your life!
Unto the greater tasks to which you've grown,
Bring undiminished your brave enterprise!

II.

To render service is your life's high aim;
When, in the boss-ruled years, you first assailed
Smug vested wrong, promise nor threat availed
To stay your purpose, not yet praise or blame;
And when as Senator your well earned fame
Made you loom nation-large, and you were hailed
A leader staunch and true, you nowise failed;
Your high resolve no glittering hopes o'ercame.

The new republic generates through years
Of conflict and confusion. When at last
Democracy, reborn, shall stand forth true,
You will take rank with its great pioneers;
And Time, whose sight is clear as it is vast,
Will count you one of her immortal few.

CHAPTER XII.

John J. Blaine.

John J. Blaine was selected by the Nonpartisan League as its candidate for governor at a convention held in Turner Hall, Madison, on June 15 and 16, 1920. At that time several candidates were seeking the Republican nomination as La Follette progressives and hoping for the endorsement of the Nonpartisan League. Among the number, besides Mr. Blaine, was Edward F. Dithmar. Mr. Blaine was then attorney-general, and Mr. Dithmar lieutenant-governor. Leading farmers and wage workers were somewhat in doubt as to which of these candidates would be the stronger. Emil Pladsen was then secretary and state manager of the League, and former Senator W. C. Zumach was the local office manager.

The League, from the time of its organization down to the present, has recognized Senator La Follette as the leader of the Progressive forces of the state. Mr. Pladsen and Mr. Zumach, before the 1920 convention was held, sought the advice of the Senator as to the relative merits of candidates, but did not succeed in getting him to express any preference as between Mr. Blaine, and Mr. Dithmar. After much consultation with farm and labor leaders they came to the conclusion that Mr. Blaine would be the strongest and best candidate, and they exerted their influence in his behalf, yet fully determined that the convention should be an open one with a fair chance for all aspirants.

An editorial in the Wisconsin Leader said:

"Farmers and workers have little interest

JOHN J. BLAINE

in the particular candidate designated at the Nonpartisan League state convention next week. The one thing in which they are interested is that, whoever is named for governor and the other offices, they must be men of absolute and sincere devotion to the principles to which the organized farmers and workers are fighting.

"Better far that the organized farmers and workers lose the coming election fighting for candidates absolutely devoted to their principles, than that they compromise for the sake of victory, naming candidates who, when the test comes, will desert for big business interests, as Langer and his fellow traitors did in North Dakota."

Mr. Blaine was nominated on the first ballot, other candidates voted for being Henry Krumrey, and C. B. Ballard.

Mr. Ballard, a working farmer, had many supporters in the convention, led by John Weller Long, but Mr. Ballard discouraged the attempt to bring about his nomination. Mr. Blaine a lawyer-farmer, had been mayor of Boscobel, supervisor of Grant county, and a state senator.

Brought before the convention by a committee after his designation, Mr. Blaine, as reported by the Wisconsin State Journal, said:

"I was born, raised, lived and worked most of my life on a farm. In my youth shortly after the death of my father, I sustained an injury which, while it will not prevent me from getting into this fight with you, would prevent me from pitching hay.

"My mother, therefore, thought it best that I enter a profession and I took up law. That is why I am your attorney-general today. I have always been interested in farming, always had it closest to my heart. My dearest friends are those following farm pursuits, and I want you to know that my hopes, my success, my ideals have always been attached to the soil.

"My heart is with you, and, fellow citizens, if I understand it right, the program you have undertaken is to bring back to the great mass of people the government that is rightfully theirs. You have declared yourself for the initiative and referendum. Representative government is good enough, but the people must have the power to recall those officials who betray their confidence, and the power to repeal a law that is unjust and wrong.

"In addition to all these absolute essentials we must have freedom of speech, the liberty of assembly and an unbiased press. That government lives longest which gives its people the greatest liberty. We have seen men push themselves forward for office, just to hold the offices for personal gain and influence—men for whom there was no demand, men for whom the people did not call. But things must be different now. We want men who will and can do what the public wants.

"Private monopolies must be abolished. The railroads, the forests, the ship yards, the mines, the water powers must be returned to the people.

"These things must be done through political action, they must be done rightfully, honestly, justly. We do not want to injure any

one unrighteously. *But those who have not earned what they have, must lose it. Regulation is ineffectual. Nothing but ownership by the government will remedy these ills.*

"I believe in going the full length. I believe in going all the way through with this job, because it is the best kind of Americanism we can preach.

"But my friends, we can't get these things without organization. Farmers alone will not win the battle. We must go to the American Federation of Labor because the workers are organized, because they need us and we need them in the common battle.

"*Radicals are men who have the courage to fight for the great mass of mankind,* men who are willing to stand the 'gaff' and take ridicule and abuse that the world may go on.

"John Brown was a radical. So were our revolutionary forefathers. They were termed radicals in their day, but now they are our sainted heroes. Let the farmers stop quarreling among themselves. Let the Nonpartisan Leaguers, the Equity men, and labor stand together, and there is no power on earth or in hell that can overcome them.

"*You men have formulated a real platform, one on which I plank myself with both feet, one which I will undertake to make a reality.*"

I have quoted, somewhat at length, Mr. Blaine's speech, printing some sentences in italics, because it seems to have been forgotten by himself and many of his present day supporters, and because this speech and the spirit animating it are in marked contrast to

his message of 1923, and the spirit animating that message.

This explains why it happens that many progressives who have supported Mr. Blaine in two campaigns are not supporting him for a third term, but are back of the candidacy of George F. Comings, a life long farmer, a sound progressive of the La Follette type, a supporter of the Nonpartisan League from the time of its establishment in this state, and as earnest an advocate of its principles today as he was in 1920.

At one of the early campaign meetings of the League held in Madison in July, Mr. Blaine spoke with Martin Comerford of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and took a strong stand for a state system of storage and distribution of farm products. He said:

"We must have a program the like of which has never been seen in any other state. Our people have had proper preliminary training in co-operation to embark upon such a program. It is possible to solve the high cost of living only through a system of public storage warehouses. Only so can the farmer be given a proper share of the products of his toil, and the consumer be given the farmers' products at the cost of production, plus the actual cost of handling."

During the primary campaign Mr. Blaine made many speeches through the state travelling part of the time with Claude Townley, a brother of A. C. Townley.

In one of his speeches Mr. Blaine said:

"In 1918 I was brought out as a candidate for attorney-general by a mass meeting of far-

mers and workers held at Madison on May 1. That mass meeting adopted a platform representing the thought of organized farmers and particularly the Equity Society. That platform declared for the initiative, referendum and recall: it declared for a policy of co-operation and the control of food monopolies. It provided that the terminals, storage houses, and stock yards be provided and controlled by the public. It stood for the public ownership of public utilities. It favored changes in our taxation system. The farm owner and the home owner and the small business man have suffered a tax burden which cannot be justified from any standpoint.

"The tax on incomes has remained stationary notwithstanding the increase in the cost of government. The exemptions provided by our law are entirely too low under present conditions. The farmer, the small salaried man and the small business man and the professional man must under the present law pay an income tax out of an amount that is necessary for the support of themselves and their family. No married man can live today on $1200 a year, and that is the exemption for the head of the family. Therefore, I believe that equity demands that the exemptions from the income tax be increased to that sum necessary for the support of the family."

The League put up a strong fight for the nomination of Mr. Blaine who was running against Roy P. Wilcox, and also gave its full support and endorsement to James Thompson who was running for United States senator against Irvine L. Lenroot. A corps of speakers including Mr. Bowen and N. S. Ran-

dall who were brought into the state by the League, from Minnesota, held meetings in all parts of the state, quantities of League literature were distributed, and the League paper, the Wisconsin Leader, was issued weekly. Besides the money which the League expended in its own campaign, it turned over from its treasury into the treasury of the La Follette Progressive Association several thousand dollars.

The governor's message to the legislature of 1921 recommended most of the farmer-labor reforms advocated in the League platform, and Mr. Blaine is entitled to credit for the stand which he took in repudiating the platform of the official Republican platform convention as recounted in the chapter on the Nonpartisan League, but his message did not contain any recommendation for a constitutional amendment which would permit any of the state ownership projects which he had so strongly declared for in his campaign speeches.

In another chapter we have recounted the progressive reforms accomplished during the 1923 session of the legislature. In the 1921 session the most important reform measures passed were a bill doubling inheritance taxes and another bill establishing the department of markets. Governor Blaine is entitled to credit for a considerable number of excellent appointments which took a number of state departments out of the hands of reactionaries controlled by corporation interests, and placed them in the hands of progressives.

The Progressive platform upon which Mr. Blaine made his second campaign was a most

disappointing one. Instead of reiterating the demands of the 1920 platform, few of which had been carried out, it was more remarkable for its silences than anything else. It looked like starting the 1922 campaign with a retreat.

The 1922 platform was silent on the demand for the election of federal judges. The 1920 Progressive platform demanded the election of federal judges, instead of their appointment, and for terms not exceeding ten years. The platform of the Farmer-Labor League also demanded the election of federal judges.

The 1922 Progressive platform (strangest of all) was silent on government ownership. The 1920 platform upon which La Follette delegates were elected to the national convention, and which was endorsed by the Progressive candidates for state offices declared for the "ultimate public ownership of railroads and the gradual acquisition of stock yards, terminals, large packing plants, and all other natural resources, the private ownership of which is the basis of private monopoly". The platform of the Farmer-Labor League contained a similar plank.

As this public ownership plank was the principal object of attack by the reactionary press of the state, during the campaign, dropping it out of the platform of 1922 looked like a repudiation of the principal issue upon which Governor Blaine was elected in 1920.

The 1922 platform was silent as to farmer-labor representation on educational boards. The 1920 platform declared for "representation on all educational boards of women and working people," and the Farmer-Labor

League platform declared for "representation of the organized workers, industrial and agricultural on every educational board".

The 1922 Progressive platform was silent as to the eight hour day. The 1920 Progressive platform declared in favor of "the eight hour day in industry." The platform of the official Republican platform convention said, "The basic eight hour law should be adopted in all industries when reasonably applicable with the return of normal conditions in order that the welfare of our citizens may be promoted by giving such citizens time for something more than eating, sleeping and working."

The Farmer-Labor League platform said, "We demand the institution of a maximum working day of eight hours, and we demand that the marketing division be given sufficient funds and authority to ascertain the cost of production of farm products based upon the eight hour day. It should also ascertain the cost of production of all other commodities of trade, to the end that agricultural endeavor may be compensated on an equal basis with other lines of endeavor." So the 1922 platform was a retreat on the eight hour issue.

The 1922 Progressive platform was vague as to the revision of the income tax law. It said, "We favor equalization of federal and state taxes upon the principle that those who are best able to pay, bear the heaviest burden."

The 1920 Progressive platform declared for exemption on income taxes to be increased in proportion to the increased cost of living. The Farmer-Labor League platform declared specifically for a higher rate of taxation of

large incomes and inheritances and the increase of exemptions on incomes from $800 to $2,000 for single persons and from $1,200 to $3,000 for married persons.

The 1922 Progressive platform was silent as to taxation calculated to force into use idle lands held for speculative purpose. The Farmer-Labor League platform of 1920 declared in favor of such taxation.

The 1922 Progressive platform is silent on the exemption of improvements on farms and city homes. The 1920 Progressive platform declared for "reasonable exemption from taxation of improvements", and the Farmer-Labor League platform more specifically declared for a gradual exemption of improvements on farms and city homes up to $5,000.

In the chapter on the Nonpartisan League I have told how representatives of the Farmers' Conference for Tax Reform asked that the silences of the Progressive platform upon which the primary campaign was waged should be replaced with positive declarations in accord with the 1920 platform. Governor Blaine was opposed to this. He thought that the vague platform (of what Lieutenant-governor Comings has called "glittering generalities") should be made the platform of the regular Republican convention.

When Governor Blaine came to write his message to the legislature of 1923, it contained the same silences which were found in the 1923 platform. The Governor's retreat from the position which he held two years earlier was a parallel of the platform retreat which we have recounted. It was this retreat which caused the Nonpartisan League to adopt the

slogan "Keep the Progressive Cause Progressing".

Public ownership and tax reform were the leading issues in 1920. Governor Blaine made publicity for income tax returns the leading issue in the campaign of 1922. The legislature passed the measure which the governor recommended providing for publicity for income tax returns, but public ownership and tax reform made little or no progress in the legislative session of 1923.

Here endeth the chapter—as I intended it, but to stop here would, I fear, give a wrong impression of Governor Blaine. I cannot forget that he stood by Senator La Follette through good report and evil too for a long term of years. I cannot forget how as state senator in 1908 he originated and pushed to success a legislative investigation of the campaign expenditures of Isaac Stephenson in 1900, when he was first a candidate for United States Senator. It required the grit that men like to push for that investigation, when at first, the press of the state and the legislature too were almost solidly against it. He took his political life in his hand then, for he was starting a fight, not only against a rich and influential member of his own party, but against a man who had been identified with, and had been working with, the progressive wing of the party to which Mr. Blaine also belonged. Mr. Blaine's first speech in the state senate was in support of his resolution for this investigation.

I cannot forget Mr. Blaine's early and continued support of a constitutional amendment

providing for the initiative, referendum and recall. I cannot forget the stirring speeches he made in the campaign of 1920 declaring that the regulation of public service corporations was a failure, and that public ownership was the only refuge from the extortion of monopoly. I cannot forget his veto of the gasoline sales tax.

A member of the faculty of Wisconsin university once said to me, "We do not care much who is elected governor. We always know how to capture him, take him into camp, and have him stand for the right things."

While there is a great gulf between the things Governor Blaine stood for in the campaign of 1920 and in his first message, and the things he stood for in the campaign of 1922, and in his second message, I would not accuse him of insincerity. I believe he has changed his mind with regard to a number of important present day issues.

Nobody questions the rugged honesty of Grover Cleveland, yet he stood during his second term for entirely different policies from those which he advocated during his first term. During the four years between his two terms he lived in New York City, under the shadow of Wall street, associating almost exclusively with the great accumulators of wealth, and the environment got him.

During the period that Mr. Blaine has had the responsibility of the administration of state affairs he has not kept closely in touch with the organized farmers, nor the organized wage workers. He has seldom, if ever, called representatives of the organized farmers or the organized workers to his office for consul-

tation. In his message of 1921 he recommended farmer-labor representation on educational boards. His message in 1923 contained no such recommendation. A bill introduced by Senator Severson in the 1923 session of the legislature providing for farmer-labor representation on the university board of regents, passed both houses of the legislature, and was signed by the governor. But for a number of weeks after the bill passed, providing for an enlargement of the board of regents by this farmer-labor representation, the governor omitted to make the appointments that he had the power to make, and in the meantime the board of regents re-elected Mr. Kohler as its chairman, and made the faculty appointments for the next college year.

As to tax reform legislation, the governor in his message of 1923 recommended an interim investigation by the tax commission of a plan to abolish all personal property taxes, and "the possibilities of the substitution of the income tax in lieu thereof." The tax commission has several times already recommended the abolition of personal property taxes.

As to tax reform legislation in the 1923 session of the legislature, I am sure that strong influences were brought to bear upon the governor in favor of no change in our tax laws.

The only change of importance was the passage of the bill granting an exemption of $500. on homestead improvements, and in connection with signing this bill the governor filed a memorandum apologetic in tone, and indicating that he did not understand exactly how the measure would work out, nor the fundamental difference between the taxation of land values

and the taxation of the improvements thereon; nor the fundamental difference between taxing earned and unearned incomes; or that certain forms of property should be encouraged and other forms discouraged.

CHAPTER XIII.

George F. Comings.

Lynn J. Frazier of North Dakota was defeated as a candidate for governor, and at the next election he was chosen United States Senator. Dr. Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota was defeated as a candidate for governor and at the next election he was chosen United States Senator. George F. Comings was ousted as a lecturer for the University of Wisconsin, and a few months later this incident brought about his election as Lieutenant-governor.

Voters in Wisconsin like to stand up for those who have been persecuted for righteousness sake. In another chapter I have told the story of the dropping of Mr. Comings from the teaching force of the university, because he had introduced a resolution at a state Equity Society meeting calling for the liberation of political prisoners and conscientious objectors. Mr. Comings was told that his stand "for dynamiters and murderers and advocates of violence" was bringing the university into bad repute.

A few weeks after his dismissal, Mr. Comings addressed a letter to President Birge and Dean Russell of the college of agriculture in which he said:

"After time has allayed the bitterness and rancor which came into my mind some months ago, because of the rebuke received at your hands, I desire to tell you frankly, and I believe kindly, some of my mental reactions and conclusions regarding the affair.

"My life, I presume, has been quite like that of the average American born citizen. My

GEORGE F. COMINGS

contact with human beings has been such as to slowly but certainly strengthen the belief in the inherent goodness in human hearts. By and by, after our educational system is revolutionized, and a co-operative system is developed, so that a life of service, real and helpful is counted a greater success than is one of greed and exploitation, then I think the divine in us will flame up much more brightly.

"The thrust I received from you, I think, was the most unjustifiable, most unkind, un-Christian, un-American of a life-time, doubly cutting because given by those professing a high degree of culture, and some degree of Christian virtue. These are some of my viewpoints. Our ranch at Eau Claire paid last year some over $600. in taxes for soldiers' bonuses, schools, roads, and for the support of the university. How many of your institute speakers contributed more material support to society? Starting not quite 20 years ago, dairying with grade stock, we have had for some years 40 to 50 head of pure-bloods. Our farm has produced heifers that in local sales have sold up to $490 and one mature cow, bred and grown on our farm, in the National sale last summer sold for $1100. How many of your dairy instructors have bred and grown cows of greater value? In 1902 there were on the farm, when we bought it, eight to 10 acres of soy beans. Since that year we have had experience with that valuable crop. How many of those who have talked to farmers, have had a longer experience with this interesting plant? I had in Michigan, in the '90s, seven years' actual experience, as secretary and manager of a real cooperative organization, having over

100 members and undertaking new work in collective marketing. In 25 years, this association has grown to very large proportions and is doing real service on a large scale. For 40 years I have been a student of cooperative history. How many do you employ who have shown sincere interest in this subject, and been real leaders in its propaganda?

"I think it is your own testimony that I was not by any means the least interesting and instructive speaker of your force. After four months, ample time for reflection, what just and satisfying reasons can be given for a violation of the fairly made contract with me, and a bit of persecution because I held and expressed somewhat different views from yours? If you live on for 15 or 20 years, do you imagine that you will tell your grandchildren, with feelings of pride, of your letter to me conveying thinly veiled threats of mob-violence? What spirit possessed you, or craven fear led you, to see in the terms "political prisoners", and "conscientious objectors" a plea for Mooney, convicted of murder? The most eminent clergyman of New York City, United States senators, judges and lawyers have used those identical terms, repeatedly and no one has risen up and accused them of coming to the rescue of assassins. What did I do that should lead to a visitation on me of war hate, and hysteria? Ought I not, as a matter of public duty, give the facts of this unjust treatment to the press? Ought not you, Dean Russell and President Birge, to offer me a personal apology for ungentlemanly, cowardly, truckling to un-Americanism?

"I am sending a copy of this letter to Madison papers that they may know that I think ideals of fair treatment (not to mention Christian ethics) have been grossly trampled upon by those from whom you would naturally expect the finest example of considerate, just treatment."

Mr. Comings comes from New England Pilgrim stock. He was born in the old Green Mountain state, Vermont. His paternal ancestor Isaac Comings came to the Massachusetts colony in 1625. His mother's name was Mary Huntington, whose ancestors came to Connecticut a few years later. One of the family, Samuel Huntington, signed the declaration of independence. This old revolutionary ancestry may account for Mr. Comings' devotion to the high ideals of Americanism for which his ancestors fought against British tyranny.

In 1870 he moved with his father's family to St. Joseph, Michigan. Here he later engaged in fruit growing and was one of the incorporators of the Lake Shore Fruit Company, the object of which was the standardization of products, and shipping direct in carload lots to the cities in which the fruit was to be sold at retail. He was business manager for several years of this co-operative enterprise, which later developed into the Southwestern Michigan Fruit Exchange, one of the large co-operative farmers' companies in Michigan.

In 1901 he removed to Eau Claire, Wisconsin, and engaged in the business of dairying and the breeding of Holstein cattle. From 1909 to 1919 he was a lecturer at farm insti-

tutes. He served four years as a member of the state board of agriculture, being appointed by Governor McGovern. He also served on the committee of 13 appointed by state superintendent Cary, to study the rural schools and make suggestions for their improvement. He is now a member of the state board of vocational education to which position he was appointed by Governor Philipp.

He has been actively identified with all the great progressive movements of Wisconsin, advocating equal suffrage, public ownership of public utilities, the initiative and referendum, and the taxation of land values. For years he was a lecturer for the Equity Society and was one of the first farmers in the state to become a member of the Wisconsin Nonpartisan League, coming to the state office of the League at Madison and enrolling as a member in 1917, when Beecher Moore, the first state manager of the League was in charge of the organization. From that time down to the present he has been a tower of strength to the organized farmers of the state. Of him it may be said in the language of William Lloyd Garrison, he is in earnest, he will not excuse, he will not equivocate, he will not retreat a single inch, and he will be heard.

And he has been heard. When the market bill and other progressive measures were trembling in the balance before legislative committees in the session of 1921, nobody had occasion to speculate as to where the Lieutenant-governor stood. He was on the job speaking at hearings in favor of the principles which he had pledged himself to support. He showed his confidence in the Nonpartisan

League movement of North Dakota by buying North Dakota bonds.

He was honored by the wage workers of Madison by an invitation to speak at the Labor Day celebration at Monona park in 1921, and he arose to great heights on that occasion, when he presented the farmer-labor gospel to an audience of 5,000 persons.

From time to time ever since he joined the Nonpartisan League in 1917, he has been a speaker at League meetings. In the campaigns of 1920 and 1922, when he was a candidate for lieutenant-governor, he was the most active campaigner on the ticket, delivering many speeches in all parts of the state.

When Magnus Johnson made his notable campaign for the United States senate in Minnesota against Governor Preus, the Lieutenant-governor was called into that state and took an active part in the speaking campaign.

He is one of the vice presidents of the Public Ownership League of America. Speaking at the 1921 Public Ownership conference at Chicago he said, "We can never develop a Christian civilization in this country until we abolish privilege." The Milwaukee Journal reported him as saying "We can never develop a Christian civilization in this country until we abolish property", and then the Journal wrote an editorial denouncing the Lieutenant-governor as a bolshevik.

Persecution for opinion's sake in the dark ages brought about the inventions of the thumb screw, the rack and every other instrument to produce human agony which inventive genius could devise. Hundreds of thousands were burned at the stake, and hundreds of other

thousands thrown into loathsome dungeons to meet even more horrible death.

The same spirit which led to these medieval atrocities survives in modified form. It sent Debs and A. C. Townley and Joseph Gilbert to jail. It threatened the impeachment of Senator La Follette. It excluded from the mails certain issues of even such highminded journals as the Nation, the Public, and Unity, when the last mentioned was edited by one of the noblest characters America has ever produced, Jenkin Lloyd Jones of Chicago.

It has led to numerous murders in recent years, in tarring and feathering, and to numerous other assaults such, for instance, as were inflicted on Herbert C. Bigelow. This spirit of persecution when it cannot inflict personal injury and violence, vents itself by the use of lies and ridicule.

During the campaign of 1922 Mr. Comings received a letter from C. B. Casperson of Frederic in which he said that in a campaign speech delivered at that place that day a speaker from Madison declared that he had said, "This country would be better off if all the churches were abolished, because every church member is a hypocrite. I hope this is not true, and I wish you would take this matter up and have the same corrected as I cannot believe you would make such a statement."

In 1920 the Lieutenant-governor represented Wisconsin on the Committee of 48, and he was a delegate to the Farmer-Labor convention held at Chicago which nominated Parley P. Christiansen for president and Dudley Field Malone for vice-president. He also led the Wisconsin delegation to the Farmer-Labor conference and the Farmer-Labor convention

in 1923 at Chicago, as recounted in another chapter of this volume.

Immediately after the adjournment of the 1923 session of the legislature, the Lieutenant-governor announced that he would be a candidate for governor on the Republican ticket in the primary of 1924.

The statement he gave out at that time read as follows:

"I have decided to become a candidate for governor in the primary election of 1924. I have received such assurances of support from leading Progressives that I believe it is my duty to make this announcement. I make it thus early in the hope that all Progressive forces of the state may unite on my candidacy.

"I shall make my campaign on the La Follette Progressive Republican platform which was endorsed by the voters of Wisconsin at the presidential delegate election of April, 1920, together with the primary platform pledges which were made by the candidates for state offices in the fall election of 1920, and again received endorsement from the people.

"The particular pledges of this platform which I shall stress are the following:

" 'The ultimate public ownership of railroads and public utilities, stock yard terminals and all natural resources, the private ownership of which is the basis of monopoly.

" 'The revision of the tax laws whereby exemptions from income taxes shall be increased in proportion to the increase in the cost of living.

" 'Reasonable exemption from improvement, and progressive increase in the income and inheritance taxes'.

"I favor such legislation as may be needed and helpful in promoting direct co-operation, and eliminating waste, speculation and excessive profits between producers and consumers. Speculating and cornering the necessities of life should be drastically dealt with. It should be abhored as much as any other form of robbing, or the taking of that for which nothing is given in return.

"Taxation is the greatest force for good or evil known to peaceful society. Taxation should be used not only to provide revenue for social need, but also to provide economic prosperity. In matters of taxation a recognized difference should be made between earned and unearned incomes. Gradually taxes should be shifted from personal property in industry to privilege.

"Nothing so strengthens a democracy as respect for its laws and an impartial enforcement of them. It is not the bootlegger's crime that hurts society so much as does the disrespect of law by officials, who through the day talk fine things and through the night booze at banquets and in club rooms.

"The wet issue should not be used as a smoke screen to hide the great economic injustices of our industrial system. I pledge respect for all laws and an honest enforcement of them, including the Severson law.

"Senator La Follette was right when nearly twenty years ago he wrote a plank for the Republican platform which said:

" 'We believe that platform pledges are sacred obligations, binding upon every member of the party; that the candidates of the party become its trusted agents to execute in good faith its promises to the voters; that the

acceptance of any candidate of any office to the duties of which platform promises may relate, imposes upon a candidate the obligation to the party and to the voter in redeeming every pledge in letter and in spirit; that to receive the vote of the citizens as the candidate of the party which has promised legislation, and then to oppose such legislation, or connive at its defeat, is a fraud upon the voter and deprives him of his right of suffrage as effectually as though he were disfranchised by law'."

Mr. Comings will make tax reform the leading issue of his campaign, showing how taxes may be reduced for the working farmer and wage workers who own their own homes by making a $1,500. exemption on homestead improvements, and by the passage of the Grimstad bill prepared by Professor Commons which provides for a progressive surtax on large land holdings valued at $10,000 or over, exclusive of the value of improvements and soil fertility. The state is now raising about $97,000.000 from property taxes. Mr. Comings will advocate reducing taxes on real estate by about $10,000,000, and the transference of this amount to income taxes, levying a heavier tax on the larger incomes.

Mr. Comings has denied a newspaper story which charged him with saying that Camp Douglas was "a sinkhole of iniquity." But just the same the American Legion has passed a resolution condemning him as a person "unfit for public office."

This called out an editorial from the Capital Times. The editor, addressing the Legion said:

"If you really wanted to prevent the Comings candidacy from gaining headway, it would have been wiser for your organization to withhold the resolution denouncing the Lieutenant-governor. Your resolution will make more votes for Comings than it will take from him. Scores of American Legion posts around the state and country denounced Senator La Follette, Shipstead, Johnson and Brookhart. These men were elected by overwhelming majorities. The Legion would do well to steer clear of designing politicians who never saw a field of battle, but have crept into the organization."

Mr. Comings has declared in favor of a liberal and progressive policy with regard to state parks, and has expressed regret that Governor Blaine saw fit to veto bills for a state park at the Wisconsin Dells, a boulevard park system for Milwaukee, and the proposed park in Sawyer and Price counties.

Mr. Comings is 74 years of age, and some have attempted to make a point against him on this account.

But Clemenceau was over 80 years of age when he organized the victorious forces of the allies during the World War. James Bryce was 83 when he brought out his work on Modern democracies. Benjamin Disraeli was 76 when he was prime minister of England. Gladstone was 85 when he was prime minister of England for the fourth time. Joseph G. Cannon was 83 when he retired from congress. Henry Cabot Lodge is now 73 years old, and still in good fighting trim in congress. Thomas A. Edison is 76 and still busy making useful inventions.

SOLOMON LEVITAN

CHAPTER XIV.

Solomon Levitan

"Make up your mind what you want in this world, and keep trying until you win your goal. Remember, though, that a man who buys success with dishonesty is making a losing bargain. Never admit defeat. Keep dreaming success while you are fighting failure. Don't be afraid to make mistakes. A man who is always right, is just too big a fool to know when he is wrong. Don't wait for opportunities; make them yourself. Remember, though, that there is a difference between pursuing opportunities and chasing rainbows. Most failures are due to a faulty valuation of the things in life. It is a coward who is afraid to say, 'I can't afford it'. The thing I should like best to impress on every young man is that character is the best collateral."

This is a specimen of the homely Benjamin Franklin type of philosophy which Solomon Levitan, state treasurer of Wisconsin, has preached, and practiced too, and it accounts for his rise from pack peddler to bank president—his progress from his vocation as a country merchant in early life, to a position of first importance today in the political, business and civic circles of the state.

Forty-three years ago Mr. Levitan came to this country, an immigrant Jew from Crimea. His father had planned that he should be a Jewish Rabbi. He was born in Prussia, studied the Talmud at Vilna, shunted a religious education, went to Crimea, and found

employment there as a clerk in a grain house In a pogrom against the Jews he defended his employer's property so valiantly that his employer offered him his choice of a university education, or passage money to America.

Solomon chose the latter, landed at Baltimore, took up peddling, and traveled through Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and Wisconsin until he accumulated capital sufficient to start a little store at New Glarus, Wis. He prospered, sold his store at New Glarus and engaged in business in Madison.

Asked how he came to be at the head of one of the leading banks in the city, Mr. Levitan said:

"When the Commercial National Bank was organized in Madison, shortly after I came here, I was asked to become a director, but I found that I was opposed by three men, a lawyer, a doctor and a professor. I determined to have a heart-to-heart talk with these men. I went first to the lawyer and asked him frankly to tell me the truth as to why he objected to me. 'Because there is a prejudice against Jews' he said. 'You would not expect me to lower my standing to associate with you, would you?'

"I realized that the others would feel the same and so did not go to see them. Later, however, I was made a director of the bank in spite of this opposition. Some little trouble arose among the directors. The vice-president, a wealthy Gentile, came to me and offered me the presidency of the bank if I would through my friends, engineer the removal of the three men opposing me, from the board.

"'No!' I said, 'I will not do that. That would be revenge.'

"He asked me to do him a favor, to go to the leading Jewish bankers of Chicago and tell them exactly what the lawyer had told me at the time he objected to my joining the directorate of the bank.

"I called on Mr. Greenbaum and Mr. Forman in Chicago and when they heard my story they congratulated me on my decision and said that I had done exactly right.

"It was my policy of being always fair that later won me the presidency of the bank."

Mr. Levitan has never sued a man, never enforced a payment at law, and never charged usurious rates of interest. He tells of refusing a good loan at an excessive rate of interest one time, and the would-be borrower said:

"Others have been willing to loan me money on these terms, why not you?"

"Because I am a Jew", answered Mr. Levitan. "The minute I would consent to accept such a usurious rate of interest, it would bring your hatred on all Jews. Every time you saw a Jew the thought of that interest would stir up that hatred".

Mr. Levitan was nominated for state treasurer at the same Nonpartisan League convention which nominated Governor Blaine in June, 1920. His name was brought before the convention by a nominating speech of Otto Onstad, and he received every vote but one in the convention.

In an interview in the Wisconsin Leader, the Nonpartisan League state paper, Mr. Levitan said:

"What is the chief thing a farmer needs today? A big dose of organization! You

should be co-workers, not competitors. Your interests, your problems, your aims, your ambitions are all alike. You need not a series of societies fighting each other, not a variety of leaders hurling maledictions at each other, but one strong organization, led by leaders who work in harmony, who have no petty selfish interests at stake, but who are highly capable and sincerely earnest, who devote all their strength and efforts to the noble task of bringing about unity of spirit and action among all the farmers.

"You tillers of the soil are the slaves of the land. You can't stop milking your cows, raising your hogs, planting your corn. The land is there, your implements are there, your stock is there, and you have no choice but to remain there. Your hired man can quit if his toil brings him less than an honest living, but you are prisoners of your vocation. You must sow whether or not you reap. Support your farm organization so that the price of your products may be determined by your cost of production, not the whims of gamblers."

In the state treasurer's office Mr. Levitan has done away with red tape, and introduced labor-saving methods resulting in substantial economies.

He has designated over 200 new state depositories in order to place more money in the country banks, and less money in the city banks. Explaining this policy, he says:

"This year more than ever before our farmers have been in need of money for their taxes and other expenses. The farmer is having a hard struggle, so it has been my aim to place state funds where they are most needed.

"The Wisconsin idea is, 'The people first!'

"Some of the states have invested their funds in government bonds and other certificates that pay higher rates of interest than the banks. But that is not the Wisconsin idea. Investing them outside the state may mean the gain of a few thousand dollars to the state treasury, but a loss to the people. The farmer tries to borrow money, and finds that his banker has none to lend, while the state treasurer has sent millions out of the state. This is like feeding pure Holstein milk to your pigs, and buying skimmed milk for your babies."

In the 1920 campaign Mr. Levitan listened to the advice of some progressives who advised him not to do any public speaking. He followed this advice and was defeated.

In the campaign of 1922 he made speeches in all parts of the state and proved to be a very effective campaigner.

Mr. Levitan has three times been a candidate for state treasurer in the Republican primary election. In 1918 he received 31,000 votes, in 1920, 122,000 votes; in 1922, 240,000, and in the November election following he was elected by a vote of 343,000.

Mr. Levitan was one of the speakers at a notable amnesty dinner given in honor of Carl Haessler, which was recounted in Chapter five of this book. He has raised large sums of money for famine sufferers in the Near East and contributed liberally to them himself, and has been a tower of strength to every liberal and humanitarian movement in the state.

CHAPTER XV.

Zona Gale.

Zona Gale who has done so much for the progressive cause in Wisconsin may justly be ranked as one of America's great women. "Great" is an easy adjective to write or speak, and a much abused word. But I do not apply it thoughtlessly to Miss Gale, for I think she meets any true definition of greatness. Elbert Hubbard said of Rousseau "He is great who feeds other minds, who inspires others to think for themselves, who pulls you out of your mental ruts, lifts you out of the common place. * * *

"He is great to whom writers, poets, painters, philosophers, preachers and scientists go each to fill his own little tin cup, dipper, calabash, vase, stein, pitcher, amphora, bucket, tub, barrel or cask."

Zona Gale not only writes stories, poems and essays which will live, but she has also appreciated civic duties, and few persons have done as much as she to keep the progressive cause progressing.

We are prone to think that a tremendous vital force is a prime necessity for greatness. If this be true, Zona Gale is the exception which proves the rule.

Fannie Hurst made an illuminating sketch of Zona Gale for the Bookman. She described her as a figure who has "stepped off a painted fan," whom we think of as "framed in the window of a sedan chair, or seated in pointed basque, and black velvet bracelet, on the coping of a fountain."

"The author of Lulu Bett" said Fannie

Hurst "is a china shop of quaint porcelains of imagination, and against the Dresden of her personality even the lightest-footed of her friends are apt to take on the proportions of bashing bulls.

"The words that describe her kind of preciousness stick obstinately back of the sacheted attic places of the brain. Musty phrases that went out with the sweeter age of lavender and old lace".

This does not suggest the conventional idea of a pioneer suffragist, does it? Nor a woman who takes the stump in a political campaign, and who writes campaign documents. But when woman suffrage was as unpopular as is the idea of a capital levy to pay the soldiers' bonus and our war debt, Miss Gale was an active worker in the Wisconsin Woman's Suffrage Association. In the campaign of 1922 she made speeches through the state with Mrs. John J. Blaine and Mrs. Robert M. La Follette, and she was the author of a campaign document which had a large circulation, entitled "Why I shall Vote for Senator Robert M. La Follette."

Here are some of the things she said about La Follette which reveal her idea as to what constitutes worth in a public career:

"He has the highest social and prophetic vision and voice, which have ever served Wisconsin. He is dedicated to human welfare. He has the insight and experience to meet the issues of human welfare in politics, and his years at Washington are priceless to us in this hour of the nation's history. He can be neither bought nor hypnotized.

"This is the first time that the women of Wisconsin have had an opportunity to vote for the man who for 20 years has advocated suffrage for women. Twenty years ago Governor and Mrs. La Follette opened the executive residence to a suffrage convention in session in Madison, and thus gave equal suffrage the countenance that it then so sadly lacked. Today I believe that the majority of the women of the state are with the senator, not because he was with them then, but because he and they alike are dedicated and consecrated to the common welfare.

"Of the thirteen planks—largely on social measures— proposed by him at the Republican national convention of 1912, eleven (in spite of the spectacular opposition which he then encountered) have now become the law of the land.

"Those who oppose the La Follette program are fond of dismissing the great issues by the use of one single adjective: 'Wet'.

"I, for one, have stood for prohibition always. I stand for it now and rejoice that it is a law. But it is a law. And the fact that Senator La Follette voted "no" on the Volstead act cannot be used to blind me to the tremendous issues which greed would like to cover. For the greatest menace to the people today is not that a constitutional amendment shall, without precedent, be repealed. The greatest menace is one which Senator La Follette has always opposed with all his force and that is special privilege".

Miss Gale first won literary fame by her Friendship Village stories, but she considers her novel, "Birth" her best work. Following the Friendship Village stories came Lulu

Bett, and then the dramatization of it, which won the Pulitzer prize, a work which she says she accomplished in a week.

Miss Gale attributes her literary success to her persistence. In an interview which she gave to Keene Sumner for the American Magazine she tells of her early struggles. Her first book was written when she was seven years old. After graduating at the University of Wisconsin, where she says she did well in English courses, and not at all well in anything else, she got a position as a reporter on a Milwaukee paper, and afterwards with the New York Evening World. She was not simply happy in newspaper work. She says, "I was ecstatic,"—and all on a salary of fifteen dollars a week. She used to say to herself, proudly, again and again, when engaged in her work as a reporter, "I am out on an assignment," "I am out on an assignment."

She described her efforts to find a publisher as a "wonderful game of chance" and says:

"I kept on playing it—mailing my stories, having them come back—and always writing new ones in search of better luck. The postman's habit was to open the front door and toss the letters into the hall. The heavy manuscripts dropped with an unmistakable sound; and often when I was up stairs, I could count them as they fell, and know just how many of my stories had come back."

But against these discouragements she always had the encouragement of her father and mother who were sure she would ultimately win.

She says she is entitled to no credit for her persistence, and for not being discouraged,

because she was having such fun doing the one thing she wanted to do. "That is the advantage of having a single desire. It makes persistence easy. You keep on because you are not even tempted to do anything else".

Miss Gale wrote the article on Wisconsin for the Nation, in its famous series "These United States."

Wisconsin might say to Miss Gale "Come see a woman which told me all things that ever I did." What Miss Gale did not tell, in this brief article, she either alluded to or hinted at. It was a wonderful specimen of condensed history.

With the spirit of Walt Whitman's "Pioneers, Oh Pioneers!" she brings before us the German, Scandinavian and New England early settlers, with "the crash of falling forests, the clink of new spiked rails, the denotation from the iron counties, and the occasional cry of a bewildered Red man."

She passes in review the birth of the Republican party at Ripon; the early co-operative colonies, Ceresco, Hunt's St. Nazianz, Spring Farm, and the Utilitarian association; our co-operative marketing and buying organizations; the university, and Dr. Ely's trial for socialistic heresies; the free speech controversy at the university, and Mrs. O'Hare at the capitol; Dr. McCarthy and the legislative reference library; Major Fitzpatrick and the state board of education; Victor Berger and the Socialist party; William Ellery Leonard and the Wisconsin players; and Al Ringling and his circus.

She says it is the Wisconsin spirit which cries to the people "Your hope is the state's task."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Legal Status of Women.

Near the close of the legislative session of 1921 an event occurred. Mrs. Frank Putnam of Milwaukee arrived in Madison, and she brought with her a notable woman's rights bill. It was not written or typewritten; it only existed in Mrs. Putnam's brain. But it was clear and definite. Mrs. Putnam knew exactly what she wanted, but she confesses that she did not know just how to get it, but she was bound she would get it, and she did.

Wisconsin, which was the first state to ratify the woman suffrage amendment, was the first state in the union to grant women full civil and property rights.

When Mrs. Putnam arrived in Madison, accompanied by Mrs. Max Rotter, it was too late in the session for any bills to be introduced except by unanimous consent, and through some committee.

"It will take ten years of court decisions before we will know what the law means."

"No women jurors for me, I don't want my cases decided by intuition."

"Crownhart is a good one, he drew Mrs. Putnam's bill so it makes her happy, but it changes nothing. That clause about not denying to women any special privileges they now enjoy nullifies all the changes which the law seems to make."

"It's a good law for lawyers, it will make more law-suits than any other statute ever enacted."

These are some of the comments made by lawyers whom I interviewed for the Wisconsin

State Journal, to learn what they thought of the Putnam bill.

Mrs. Putnam, who represented the Woman's Party, was told that there was no chance for such a bill as she wanted, because a bill by Senator Conant, giving women the right to serve on juries had recently been killed in the assembly, although it passed the upper house without a roll call.

It looked hopeless during the closing days of the legislature to put through a bill that would give women the right of jury service plus several other things which would seem to many members of the legislature radical, improper and uncalled for.

Mrs. Putnam began work on her bill with a call on Governor Blaine. He sent her to Charles Crownhart, the revisor of statutes, a widely known Wisconsin lawyer, and a life-long friend of Senator La Follette, who has since been made one of the justices of our supreme court. Mr. Crownhart told her to see the finance committee and to ask them to introduce her bill, and while she was interviewing them, he would drop in. She carried the committee by storm, and Mr. Crownhart agreed that he would draw such a bill as she desired.

"I am sure" Mrs. Putnam told the finance committee, "the assembly did not fully understand that jury bill which they killed, nor do they understand how important it is that full civil and property rights should follow the granting of political rights to women."

So Mr. Crownhart drew the bill, and Mrs. Putnam, Mrs. Rotter and other representatives of the Woman's Party began their ninth

hour educational work with the legislature.

In spite of the adverse opinions of some lawyers, which I have quoted, the Wisconsin law enables women to do *many things* which they could not do before the law was passed. It enumerates seven respects in which they shall have equal rights with men:

1. Suffrage.
2. Freedom of contract.
3. Choice of residence for voting purposes.
4. Jury service.
5. Holding office.
6. Holding and conveying property.
7. Care and custody of children.

The statute is so brief that its two important sections may be quoted in full:

"Women shall have the same rights and privileges under the law as men in the exercise of suffrage, freedom of contract, choice of residence for voting purposes, jury service, holding office, holding and conveying property, care and custody of children, and in all other respects. The various courts, executive and administrative officers shall construe the statutes where the masculine gender is used to include the feminine gender, unless such construction will deny to females the special protection and privileges which they now enjoy for the general welfare. The courts, executive and administrative officers, shall make all necessary rules and provisions to carry out the intent and purposes of this statute.

"Any woman drawn to serve as a juror upon her request to the presiding judge or magistrate, before the commencement of the trial, or hearing, shall be excused from the panel or venire."

Mr. Crownhart went into history with me. Under the old time common law, women and children were the property of men, and remnants of the old time common law still remain in the statute law of most of the states. According to the old Roman law the wife was absolutely in her husband's hands. She was not a "person" and could not control any property. The husband had the legal right to chastise her, to judge her if she was accused of a serious offense, and to kill her if she committed adultery.

In the English colonies in America married women were controlled in both person and property by their husbands. On marriage the wife's property (except that "settled" upon her) became the husband's property. Her clothing and ornaments belonged to him. He was the sole guardian of the children, and he could decide their education and religious training.

There is an old rhyme which runs like this:
"Things have come to a hell of a pass,
When a man can't wallop his own jack-ass."

Men had just the same rights over their wives as they had over their jack-asses.

Wisconsin's new law is founded on the theory that a woman is a person, that under our changing industrial system her individuality must be fully recognized, and marriage must be the consenting and harmonious wills of two equals. Human progress will be augmented as women are more and more free from mental and financial dependence on men, and find an independent point of view of their own.

Probably the right to sit on juries is the most important and practical thing which our law confers on women. To be sure, there has been a theory that the right to vote carried with it the right of jury service. But the soundness of this theory as applied to women was questioned by the lawyers and the judges, and so sheriffs, constables and jury commissioners had not been putting the names of women on their jury lists. But they are doing it now, and the new jury lists contain approximately an equal number of names of men and women.

Mrs. Putnam placed great stress upon the importance of women serving on juries. It will improve the atmosphere around the courts, just as woman has improved the atmosphere surrounding the polls. It will promote justice in the rendering of verdicts, now that the function of government is gradually being transformed from coercion into service. For the enforcement of child labor laws, pure food and prohibition laws, and also minimum wage laws, the presence of women on juries is necessary.

Conferring jury duties on women will tend to remove an unreasonable and false modesty which often makes women willing to suffer gross injustice rather than to enter court to maintain their rights.

In the hearings on the Putnam bill one of the factitious objections urged against women doing jury duty was that it would not do to lock men and women up together while they were deliberating upon a verdict, especially when, as in some cases, the juries are out all night. Of course, there is no good reason why

men and women might not be given separate apartments but to meet this objection and other similar ones Mr. Crownhart inserted this clause:

"The courts, executive and administrative officers shall make all necessary rules and provisions to carry out the intent and purposes of this statute".

Next to jury service the most important change brought about by the new law is the right to a choice of residence for voting purposes. It has been the privilege of the husband, if he lived part of the time in one place and part of the time in another to choose his place of residence for voting purposes. And wherever he voted, there, and there only, could his wife vote. Women have often been disfranchised when the husband has found employment away from home, and has claimed a residence at the place where he was working. In such a case if the wife voted she must go where her husband worked. Families are often separated, and for good reasons. A wife may leave a husband, whom she finds it impossible to live with, without obtaining a divorce; and in such cases wherever she lived she was not a citizen with voting power.

The law as originally drawn by Mr. Crownhart, and in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. Putnam, did not contain the words "for voting purposes". These were added by an amendment.

The law was originally intended to give to women the right to establish their own place of residence for *all* purposes. It was intended, for instance, to give the wife of a ne'er-do-well husband the right to refuse to follow him

wherever he might choose to roam, without making this refusal legal grounds for divorce or separation. It was held that it was not always right that a wife should be compelled to follow her husband to a new place of residence, regardless of whether he might be able to properly support the family in a new location, and give the children proper educational advantages.

Being given entire freedom of contract under the new law, the wife may now come to the financial assistance of her husband if she wishes to do so, and indorse his notes, or otherwise becomes surety for his debts.

Until the passage of the new law, whether the woman had the right to hold any and all public offices in the state was a mooted question, particularly in some cases where the law specified certain qualifications as constituting eligibility. All doubt and question on this score is now removed.

The charge that it may take ten years of court decisions to fully establish woman's status under the new law is something that may be said about any law aiming to accomplish fundamental reforms.

Wisconsin's bill of rights for women means that men can no longer arrogate to themselves the sole determination of the most important events in the life of the family, the community and the state. For many years men's control of governmental affairs related principally to war, and the issues of war. But now that government concerns itself so largely with education, recreation, industry, health, and family affairs, women must share equally with men

every function of government and all civil duties.

Women's fight to throw off the subjugation of men has been a long one. She now enjoys equal access with men to educational institutions. She enjoys equal political rights, and Wisconsin's new law is so broad that it gives her not only the seven enumerated rights and privileges relating to political, civil, and property affairs, but makes her the equal of man "in all other respects."

Has the Wisconsin bill repealed the minimum wage law, the law which limits women's hours of labor, and prohibits night work? Some lawyers say, yes, but no employers have undertaken to so interpret it.

But here is the argument of those who say yes. The law gives women the same rights as men as to freedom of contract. Men, under Wisconsin laws, have the right to work for any wages they see fit to accept, have the right to work sixty hours or more a week, and have the right to work at night.

Therefore, women now have the right to work for any wages they see fit to accept, to work 60 hours or more a week, and to work at night.

But does not the law say it is not to be construed so as to deny to females the special protection and privileges which they now enjoy for the general welfare? Yes, it does. But read the law, and you will see that this exception, it is argued, does not apply at all to the special privileges and immunities which have been granted to women in industry. Here is the way it reads:

"Women shall have the same rights and

privileges under the law as men in the exercise of suffrage, freedom of contract, choice of residence for voting purposes, jury service, holding and conveying property, care and custody of children, and in all other respects".

Then there is, it is claimed, a change of subject, and the law goes on to say:

"The various courts executive and administrative officers, shall construe the statutes where the masculine gender is used to include the feminine gender, unless such construction will deny to females the special protection and privileges which they now enjoy for the general welfare".

Of course, this cannot refer, it is argued, to any laws for the protection of women in industries, for in these laws the *masculine* gender is not used, but the feminine gender. So this part of the law must only relate to civil and property rights of men, and is intended to give women the same status as men, except that any protection in privileges which women enjoy for the general welfare must be excepted.

The answer to this argument, Mr. Crownhart, says, is that there is a difference between giving women the right to work for low wages, long hours, and at night, and giving the employers the right to pay excessively low wages and employ women long hours, and for night work. Giving women the same rights of contract which men enjoy would not repeal any of the special legislation protecting women in industry. Women, as citizens, have had the same freedom of contract as men, except as that freedom was limited or defined by special legislation. Laws protecting women in industry have been upheld by the courts on the

theory that they are for the common good, and that no one has a right to make a contract to do anything opposed to the public welfare. Laws for the special protection of women have been enacted, not so much to extend special privileges to the weaker sex, but to guard the health and well-being of women as mothers, and to protect the home.

Fred M. Wilcox, chairman of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission says:

"The laws which Wisconsin has had on its statute books for some time for the protection of women employees, such as the hours of labor laws, and the minimum wage law do not 'discriminate against women' but rather protect and give them special privileges.

"The only possible argument for interpreting the law against women is that the first sentence of section one does not have the limiting clause which occurs in the second sentence 'unless such construction will deny to females the special protection and privileges which they now enjoy for the general welfare'. Because this waiving clause does occur in the second sentence, because the act is entitled an act to remove discriminations against women, we think that it is clear that the law is not intended to remove the special protection and privileges which have heretofore been granted to women employees in the interest of the general welfare.

"These protective laws do not in any direct manner restrict 'any freedom of contract of women employees'. It is not a violation of law for the women to work overtime, or at less than a living wage, but the employer who requires or permits women employees to work

overtime, or pays less than a living wage is liable to a penalty.

"This commission has enforced the laws which give a special measure of protection to women employees, since Chapter 529 became effective, in the same manner as heretofore. A considerable number of employers have been called to account for violation of these laws. No employer or his attorneys have ever urged, however, that Chapter 529 has set aside the women's hours of labor law or the minimum wage law.

"This fact we think significant, especially in view of the fact that articles have appeared in the east which claim that the woman's rights bill has swept away all special legislation for the protection of women. This is a claim which only people who know nothing about our law have urged".

Miss Irma E. Hochstein and Mrs. Glenn P. Turner, active suffragists, in Wisconsin, were not in favor of the Putnam bill. Miss Hochstein, who for several years has been connected with the legislative reference library, says:

"The Wisconsin bill delegates broad legislative power to the courts. The inevitable result will be that with the multiplicity of county and district courts, and consequent variety of construction, the final decision must rest with the Wisconsin supreme court. The theory on which Wisconsin bill-drafting has been carried on in the past is to make the wording of each law so definite that court constructions will be reduced to the minimum. We have carefully amended the sections of the statutes which we wish to change, striking out the old

and inserting new phrases. This requires tedious study, but has its reward in definiteness and a greater degree of safety.

"By passing the general enabling provisions of Chapter 529, it was hoped to avoid this tedious process of amending section by section of Wisconsin statutes, and so gain at once justice for women. 'We don't want all this red tape, we want to pass a general law' said the women interested in the bill.

"Are they getting rid of the red tape, or are they adding yards to it? Still worse, are they not delegating legislative power to the courts which wise legislatures are constantly struggling to take away from them?

"There is no doubt of our earnest desire to obtain equal rights for women where they give justice. But are we sure that justice always demands simply equal rights? Are not women in justice entitled to some special privileges and protection?

"The bill for equal rights for women in our legislature was introduced just at the time when a strongly organized hotel keeper's lobby had defeated for the fourth time the measure to include women hotel employees under the hours of labor law for women".

However, in spite of Miss Hochstein's argument, of which I have given only a part, the Putnam bill has not been used to nullify any special protection or privileges which women now enjoy.

There is force in Miss Hochstein's argument. Nobody thought, when it was enacted, that the Sherman Anti-Trust law would be used against labor unions, but it was so used. And nobody thought it could be possibly used

against them, after the passage of the Clayton act, which was especially intended to prevent the application of the Sherman law to labor and farm organizations. But the Clayton act has been riddled by the decision of the courts in the Duplex Printing Company case.

Nobody thought that Wisconsin's anti-trust law could be used to prevent certain forms of co-operative selling of dairy and farm produce, but this has been attempted.

A clause in the law says that it should not be construed to forbid the existence and operation of agricultural, horticultural or other labor organizations, instituted for the purpose of mutual help, and not having capital stock, and not being conducted for profit.

But it has been argued by some lawyers that this only authorizes the *existence* of farmer-labor organizations and does not authorize them to do anything through combinations which manufacturers might not also do through a combination.

The only litigation arising out of the Putnam bill, related to the right of a wife to become surety for her husband's indebtedness. Our courts have decided that the law of 1921 repealed the law which prevented a wife from coming to the assistance of her husband by endorsing his notes, or otherwise becoming security for his debts, but this was one of the objects sought by the proponents of the law.

Miss Zona Gale of Portage has been one of the defendants of the Wisconsin equal rights law. Miss Gale says that the general bill of rights for women which has been passed must be followed by specific legislation in certain instances, in which the issues are not clear.

Miss Gale quotes Mrs. Max Potter as furnishing two instances in which the equal rights law has been of service to women. The first instance was one in which the civil service commission in Milwaukee ruled that married women were not eligible to take certain civil service examinations. Various women protested, and with the backing of Mayor Hoan, who said that this ruling was in direct violation of the equal rights law, after several meetings, and much argument, they gained their point.

The second instance was in regard to two new police women. Women had worked hard for the establishment of these posts. Imagine their dismay when it was announced in the newspapers that married women would be barred. The women again protested. The city officials replied that the newspapers had misstated the case and that the equal rights laws would not permit them to discriminate against married women.

Here is another case illustrating what women have won in Wisconsin.

A Wisconsin woman moved with her husband to Montana where he was engaged in mining. When their son was of college age, this woman returned to Wisconsin to live so that the son could enter the state university. The husband with his business remained in Montana. The university ruled that since the husband's home was in Montana, the wife also lived in Montana, and that the boy was therefore non-resident and must pay tuition. It was not until our Wisconsin equal rights law was brought forward that the university ruled that the wife lived where she really did live.

Miss Gale is among those who favor a twentieth amendment to the federal constitution conferring equal civil and property rights on women. She quotes Henry Slattery as follows:

"The adoption of the 19th amendment enfranchised the women of the United States, but it did not provide, as thousands of good folks think it did, that women should have the same rights and privileges under the constitution and laws of the United States as men. It did not remove civil or legal disabilities, inequalities, or other discriminations of law against women by reason of sex and marriage. It did not give women the status that the 14th and 15th amendment gave to the colored citizens. In fact, the suffrage amendment is in a sense a half-way house on the road to equal civil, legal and political rights for women which will place them on equality with men".

But it is not fair to say that the proposed twentieth amendment is framed on exactly the same principle as the Wisconsin woman's rights law.

As proposed by the National Woman's Party, the amendment reads:

"Section 1. No political, civil or legal disabilities or inequalities on account of sex, or on account of marriage unless applying equally to both sexes, shall exist within the United States or any territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof.

"Section Two. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The League of Woman Voters of this state and other women organizations agree with

Samuel Gompers that this strict equality blanket amendment to the constitution would destroy the beneficent hard-won laws protecting the women workers of the country who are unable to maintain their rights through economic strength.

Mr. Gompers further says:

"If such a blanket amendment placing women on an absolute equality with men were to be adopted and ratified, the employers of the country would not attack the various state laws in the court.

"They would proceed at once to operate under the amendment. That is where lawyers misjudge the employers. Employers would not go into court. They would remain in their shops and factories, put strict equality of hours and working conditions into effect, and then if the workers were able they might go into court to compel the employers to restore the safeguards of the state laws protecting women.

"Eventually, after many years, these cases would get to the supreme court, if the workers were able to go that far, but meanwhile the beneficent, hard won laws would be destroyed".

Miss Gale Laughlin of California delivered several addresses in Wisconsin in favor of the twentieth amendment in which she argued against the minimum wage law for women and against all legislation calculated to protect them in industrial pursuits, such as limiting their hours of labor, prohibiting night work, and fixing various conditions of employment. Her contention was that such legislation was not really of benefit to women. She said:

"If you fix a minimum wage for women at a figure higher than prevailing wage, at once you throw thousands of women out of employment. The same is true if you fix a shorter work day for them, or pass any other legislation compelling employers to favor them. All such laws tend to close avenues of remunerative employment. Such legislation has often been favored by the labor unions which do not like the competition of women, because it tends to reduce wages, and they prefer to see women in industry sent back to their homes."

But Miss Laughlin is wrong, as the status of women in Wisconsin proves. Neither our minimum wage law, nor the recent legislation shortening hours of labor for women, have thrown any considerable number of women out of employment.

One Wisconsin lawyer who was opposed to the woman's rights bill thinks the new law "jeopardizes the best influences in domestic life and threatens to topple woman from the high pedestal where advance civilization has placed her." We should keep her he says, "in the holy of holies of our age, and not drag her out into the market place, and even into the mire of political and social controversies". This is from a speech delivered by Alexander E. Matheson before the state bar association.

But on the other hand in response to a questionnaire sent out by the Woman's Party, Governor Blaine, Senator La Follette, Senator Lenroot, Judge Stevens, Wisconsin congressmen and others, commended highly the new law.

The supreme court of the state has set at rest, at least as far as our state courts are concerned all fears that the equal rights law repeals the state's protective labor legislation for women.

In the case of the First National Bank vs. Jahn, decided by the supreme court December 5, 1922, Judge Rosenberry in delivering the court's opinion says the law "does not and should not strike down sex as a basis of classification in the enactment of laws relating to health, morals, and the general welfare of the people."

It is true that in this case the question whether the equal rights law in any manner repealed or modified protective legislation for women was not directly involved. The fact, however, that the opinion of the court in this case was unanimous, and that there is such a clear statement in this opinion upon this point, leaves no room for doubt that the equal rights law has not, in the opinion of our judges, repealed the protective labor legislation of the state.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Socialists.

"Remember! Socialism in action will destroy all that made America great". Thus closed a campaign circular of the stalwart Republicans in the state campaign of 1922. Socialism as a bogey man has long been used in the anti-progressive camp.

Here are more illuminating abstracts from the circular mentioned. "Shall state Socialism with its preaching against private ownership of property, and other communistic theories, be given added impetus in Wisconsin?"

"The Socialist state convention endorsed La Follette for Senator because his war attitude was truly socialistic and to make Wisconsin the leader in socialist movements. Senator La Follette has been asked publicly to repudiate this endorsement—but steadfastly refused. Instead La Folletteites aim to elect Berger to congress in the fifth district. By this public alliance, Senator La Follette adds untold prestige to Berger's political power. The Socialist convention said the Socialists were 'the logical successors to the La Follette movement'. The Wisconsin Republicans stand aghast at this prospect.

"Victor Berger's newspaper daily publishes leading editorials showing how La Follette measures up to all pet Socialistic schemes and declares his election as the Socialist-Republican candidate will give life blood to the Socialist and communistic movement; leading Socialistic speakers are stumping the state with the same theory.

"What has Senator La Follette promised in

return for this support and for his public prostitution of the Republican party?

"For all his years in public life and for all the honors his party has given him, Senator La Follette in his declining years repudiates the Republican party and publicly joins the Socialist bosses.

"Shrewd and successful politician that he is, he must know that this gives the Socialists a power and prestige undreamed of, unless the people of Wisconsin repudiate this shameful alliance.

"Will you help repudiate it by voting for W. A. Ganfield for United States Senator?"

And after all this, in a number of districts Dr. Ganfield did not get even one vote. In many others he received only one, two or three votes.

I quote from this campaign document because one may read between the lines a history of the campaign of 1922, which was typical of all the campaigns of recent years.

In 1922 Martin R. Paulsen was the stalwart candidate for secretary of state.

He had one speech which he delivered all around the state, and the passage in it upon which he laid the most emphasis, and which was widely quoted, was the following:

"In order to burden the farmers with their Socialistic program in North Dakota, the Socialist leaders of the Nonpartisan League virtually brought about confiscation of property by the state with a clever substitute. Their plan was simply to tax a piece of farm property up to its production value. If the farm was producing $1,000 a year above operating

expenses, taxation on that farm would amount to $1,000, and the farmer would be only a nominal owner.

"North Dakota today stands the tragic testimony of the truth of the prediction of attorney-general William J. Morgan, who went out in 1920, single-handed, and told the truth about the leadership and hidden purposes of the League."

As nearly all Wisconsin farmers were well enough informed to know that farm taxes in North Dakota, for the working farmers, were far less than they are in Wisconsin, Mr. Paulsen made votes for his opponent, Fred R. Zimmerman, every time he made a speech. Our farmers also knew that the slogan of the Nonpartisan League was "Reduce Farm Taxes One-third". Representative farmers from all over the state attended the Farm Conference for Tax Reform on September 18 and outlined a definite program to secure reduced farm taxes, through transferring from real estate and other property about ten millions of taxation and placing it upon the incomes of the great accumulators of wealth, and through granting an exemption of $1,500 on homestead improvements.

As to the effect of "Socialism in action," Milwaukee had given a demonstration, by no means alarming. It is by far the largest city in America controlled by the Socialist party. It has a population of about half a million. The city proper is the center of a metropolian district of about 750,000 people. One-sixth of the voting population of the state lives in Milwaukee. It had a Socialist mayor in 1910 and 1911. Daniel W. Hoan, another Socialist

mayor, has been at the head of the city government since 1916.

Milwaukee is one of the best governed cities in the United States. It is the most orderly, having a smaller percentage of crime than any other. Mrs. Victor L. Berger has been a leading member of the city's school board for many years. Milwaukee was the first American city to maintain a well-equipped school of trade in connection with the public schools. Its part-time school building, costing $3,225,000, for youth employed in industry, is referred to in Chapter one. The city has a university, a labor college and several other colleges.

It has the lowest death rate of any of the larger cities. The percentage of laboring people who own their homes exceeds that of any other American city. It has no slum or tenement district. There are large and well-maintained parks in all the residential districts.

Business has flourished under Milwaukee Socialist administrations. "The beer that made Milwaukee famous" we hear nothing about any more. But Milwaukee's iron, steel, and other metal products, its leather, its boots and shoes, its drugs and chemical products, its motor vehicles and accessories, its clothing, hosiery and knit goods, its wood and paper products are well known throughout all the northwest, and many of them well known throughout the United States.

Socialists first elected a member to the state legislature in 1904. In the session of 1905 the party was represented by one senator and four assemblymen. In the session of 1919 there were 20 Socialist members, four sena-

tors and 16 assemblymen. In the session of 1921 the number was reduced to ten, owing to the split in the Socialist party. In the 1923 session the party was represented by 14 members, 11 assemblymen and three senators.

It has been claimed that Seidel's election, and the two elections of Mr. Hoan were not Socialist victories. No doubt many who voted the Socialist ticket were simply sick and tired of old style Republican-Democrat ring rule. However the votes given to Seidel and Hoan at least show that the people did not believe that Socialism in action would destroy all that has made America great.

Furthermore, it must be remembered that in electing Socialists in Milwaukee, the party has to win against the united opposition of both Democrats and Republicans on what is termed a Nonpartisan ticket.

In the fall following Mayor Seidel's election Victor L. Berger ran for congress from the Milwaukee district and was elected, being the first Socialist ever elected to congress. He was one of the founders of the Socialist party in this country.

Mayor Seidel ran for a second term in 1912 but was defeated, and he suffered a second defeat in 1914. Then the Socialist wave came up again, and Daniel W. Hoan was elected in 1916, as heretofore stated, and he has held the office ever since. His present term will expire in 1924.

Mr. Hoan served Milwaukee as city attorney for six years, from 1910 to 1916. During that period he resisted the encroachment of the railroads and the public utilities corporations on the rights of the people, and compelled the railroads and other corporations to give ser-

vice according to the terms of their franchises, and the laws under which they were operating.

Local improvements amounting in value to millions of dollars were wrested from the corporations. Railroads were obliged to abolish many grade crossings, traction companies to do a large amount of street paving and besides reductions in service rates were obtained. By fighting unjustifiable and excessive claims against the city the amount paid out for such purposes was reduced over 200 per cent.

Largely through Mr. Hoan's effort an attempt to rush through the common council a ten-year contract between the city and the electric company for furnishing city illumination was defeated.

This contract would have burdened the city with a costly and inefficient privately owned lighting system. Its defeat brought about the adoption of the present scientific and economical street illumination with its municipally owned distribution system designed for beauty as well as utility. Its construction was instituted during Mayor Hoan's first term.

His term as mayor, though marked by a common council more or less hostile has brought about a great advance in civic progress, particularly as to city planning, the establishment of a civic center, the passage of a zoning ordinance, the development of arterial highways, the expansion of the great municipal harbor plant, and the restoration of the central purchasing bureau which was abolished after Mayor Seidel's defeat.

Mayor Hoan succeeded, with the aid of his able housing commissioners, in securing legis-

lation authorizing a modern and progressive housing program. The plan secures benefits from the economy of wholesale home-building, and promotes the private ownership of homes. It also secures the co-operative benefits of community playgrounds and other joint opportunities for the development of good citizenship.

The labor policy of his administration began with the establishment of an eight hour law, and the adoption of a minimum wage ordinance for city employes. Organized labor is consulted on all questions in which it is interested, and is fairly represented in the various commissions and departments of the city government.

When asked by the local association of commerce to invite the King of Belgium to be the guest of the city, Mayor Hoan's answer was, "I stand for the man who works, to hell with kings."

The police department has carried out under the mayor's request, a policy which meets with the approval not only of union labor men, but of good citizens generally. No violence or destruction of property in times of strike is to be permitted, but every constitutional and legal right of workers must be strictly protected. This policy has kept Milwaukee free from strike disorders which have occurred in almost all other American cities.

Mayor Hoan recently undertook a thorough investigation and clean-up of the police department. Several prominent members resigned rather than face the mayor's charges. This clean-up has been followed by efficiency and courtesy on the part of the police force

which has earned the commendation of every good citizen.

A state legislature, unfriendly to municipal ownership plans has prevented Milwaukee Socialists from doing many things they would like to have done to bring about municipal betterment. Attempts in the legislature to raise the city's debt limit from five to ten per cent have repeatedly been defeated.

In Chapter VII I have given an account of the progressive reforms enacted by the 1923 legislature. Socialist members voted solidly for all these bills, and as they held a balance of power between the progressive and the stalwart Republicans in the senate, it was the Socialist votes that put through all the reform legislation.

The Farmers' Conference for Tax Reform held on September 18, 1922, formulated a program which the official state convention of the Socialist party adopted *in toto,* and the Socialist members of the legislature supported every measure brought forward in pursuance of this program.

The Socialists voted for all the tax reform bills. During the legislative session Frank J. Weber, a veteran Socialist legislator made public the text of a letter written by F. H. Clausen, president of the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association, which explains why this organization did not oppose the bill providing for an increase in workmen's compensation indemnities. In this letter Mr Clausen said:

"A fight on the compensation bill would only complicate the situation. We are in no position to fight this measure in the present

legislature, even in the senate. We are now in a position to put our efforts on the biggest proposition before us."

Commenting on this letter, Weber said:

"It is evident that the Manufacturers' Association concentrated all its effort on the tax fight, and we made it so hot for them, and they were so fearful that they would be compelled to pay their fair share of taxes that they were afraid to fight on the compensation act. Thus to protect themselves from paying a just tax, they were forced to concede to the labor forces an increase in compensation payments of almost one thousand dollars a day during the coming two years.

"This shows that the workers who voted for the Socialist and labor candidates will receive additional protection and some very tangible results from casting an intelligent vote last November."

The Progressive Republicans were only able to secure the organization of the senate and the control of the principal committees through a fusion with the three Socialist senators.

William F. Quick, a Socialist senator from Milwaukee, explained the Socialist tactics as follows:

He said that if the Socialists blocked Governor Blaine's control of the senate, he would again claim after the adjournment of the legislature that he was unable to accomplish anything because of a hostile senate.

Mr. Quick charged that during the 1921 session of the legislature Blaine was inactive and made little attempt as party leader to push through progressive legislation, al-

though with tact he might have controlled things.

"This year", said Senator Quick, "the Socialists are not going to allow the governor to make the same excuse, and consequently we have placed the La Follette Republicans in this position—they have received a majority of 300,000 votes at the polls; they have entire control of the senate and the assembly; they have the governor and lieutenant-governor who presides over the senate and has a vote in case of a tie.

"Therefore, we shall find out just what the La Follette men are able to do for the people of Wisconsin when they are in full control of the state government. If they fail to live up to their platform pledges, over a dozen of which are taken almost word for word from the Socialist platform, then surely the farmers and workers of Wisconsin will know there is no hope of accomplishing results except through the Socialist party."

During the 1923 session of the legislature, Eugene V. Debs visited Madison and spoke in the university gymnasium under the auspices of the Social Science club.

The action of President Birge in permitting this address to be delivered in a university hall is in marked contrast with his refusing the university gymnasium for a meeting to be addressed by Oswald Garrison Villard two years before.

The changed attitude of the president was no doubt a reflection of the changed complexion of the state legislature, and particularly of the assembly.

On the morning of the day when Debs was to speak in the evening, Assemblyman Julius Kiesner, a Milwaukee Socialist member, introduced a resolution, which was adopted without a roll call and which praised Debs as "an outstanding American, in that he had the courage during the hysteria of the war to stand up and defend the ideals and splendid traditions of the founders of this Republic, regarding equality of opportunities and the rights of freedom of religion, a free press, and free speech, as the keynote and guarantee of free institutions."

All through the 1923 session the Socialists were the most active advocates of legislation cutting down the biennial appropriation for the national guard, from about $1,200,000 to $500,000, thus saving the tax payers about $700,000.

Milwaukee is planning to become an endowed city, instead of being a city heavily in debt and struggling to avoid bankruptcy as are so many municipalities. "Would it not be better" Milwaukee asks, "for great accumulators of wealth to leave their money to their own city for the benefit of all, rather than to leave it to some university?" Instead of being everlastingly in debt, and paying debts over and over again in interest charges, Milwaukee plans to wipe out its small bonded indebtedness within 40 years.

Thomas M. Duncan, in the legislature of 1923, introduced a bill, which became a law under which the city debt, now about five per cent of the assessed valuation of the city will be paid in full within 40 years, and taxes will be reduced by one-half.

Under the provisions of this bill, $650,000 has already accumulated, and the amount will grow at the rate of not less than $250,000 a year. The fund comes from interest on moneys which the city treasury advances at six per cent interest to Miwaukee tax payers who are unable to pay their entire assessment at once, together with interest money received by the city from its deposits, or from interest on United States government certificates in which it invests its cash balances. To these sources are added moneys received by gifts or bequests.

Besides this amortization fund, Milwaukee has established what is called the First Civic Foundation. The First Wisconsin Trust Company is the trustee of this fund which is to receive gifts or bequests from private sources to be held in trust for the benefit of the city. Benjamin Franklin executed a similar trust for the benefit of Boston. It terminated at the end of 100 years, and the proceeds were used to build a school. The principle behind both funds, Mr. Duncan says is an endeavor to capitalize the city's continuous existence, a municipal asset which has hitherto been neglected in considering the question of taxation.

The common school fund, as provided for by the Wisconsin state constitution is based on the same principle, but has never been provided with sufficient funds by the legislature to bring to the citizens of Wisconsin the full benefits in the future which they should receive. Corruption in the handling of state lands deprive the common school fund of valuable assets.

Mayor Hoan declares that the City of Mil-

waukee performs every public service at a cost of from one-half to one-tenth of what the expense would be if the same service were performed by private individuals. He says he has made this statement many times and it has not been challenged.

Garbage collections, for instance; Milwaukee makes a weekly collection for $2. per family annually. "I know of no city", says Mr. Hoan, "where private firms perform the same service for less than $20. per family annually. Ash collections cost $8. per family annually, and we go into the basements to get the ashes. Private firms would perform this service, perhaps, for $20. annually.

"I am prepared to take up police, library or any other municipal service and make like comparisons. Our low cost is due not only to the large scale on which the city does its work, but to the low cost of overhead. If any citizen can show any service that may be performed better, and at a lower cost than by municipal functioning, we are ready to make a change."

Mayor Hoan attributes Milwaukee's high municipal credit to the following causes: The institution of a scientific budget system which has prevented the usual recurring financial deficits at the end of each year. The city issues no bonds for street improvement, river dredging or for any other purposes which might be classed as municipal operating expenses. The city levies a tax of one-quarter of a mill which annually produces $140,000 a year in order to place all city departments on a cash basis. All purchasing for the city is done by one board; all goods are purchased

for cash and the discount obtained amounts to $40,000 a year. No contractors are paid by certificates, on which the bankers usually charge a large discount when cashed. The city deposits no trust funds in local banks on which it formerly received only two per cent. interest. It invests such funds in short-term government securities bringing in at least four per cent.

The city permits a tax payer who has paid his state and county taxes to extend the time of paying his city tax for six months, upon payment of six per cent. interest, thus saving tax payers who may be in temporary financial stress, protection from extortionate interest charges.

The city receives approximately one-half million dollars annually in interest money. It recently transferred $375,000 out of its interest funds to its amortization fund.

In spite of all that Milwaukee does for its citizens, the tax rates of thirty of the largest cities in this country shows Milwaukee's rate about half-way down the list. The National Municipal Review says, compared with thirty-six of the largest cities in the United States, Milwaukee's per capita bonded debt is exceeded by twenty-nine cities, only seven cities having a lower indebtedness. Milwaukee's average debt per capita is $53.00 against an average of $103.00, omitting Washington, with a per capita debt of only thirty-six cents.

Milwaukee has by no means neglected public improvements in order to secure this low indebtedness. It is about to complete a sewerage disposal works costing $13,000,000, of which over one-fourth is paid for in cash.

The city has acquired every foot of riparian rights along its lake front, is constructing the best harbor on the Great Lakes, is widening its arterial highways to 180 feet, and will provide on one point a civic center involving an expenditure of $8,000,000.

The city has built more high schools and acquired more play-ground space during the past three years than the total it possessed prior to three years ago. A million dollar viaduct, a new water intake, a new million dollar pumping station, and a new street lighting system, and other public improvements, places it second to no other city in the country.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Co-operative Movements.

Wisconsin was the home of some of the earliest experiments in co-operative community life, as well as in co-operative buying and selling. In a volume entitled "What La Follette's State is Doing" it seems out of place to go back to 1840, but I cannot resist the temptation to sketch one feature of the Wisconsin background, upon which present day co-operative movements stand.

In 1840 there was published in this country an exposition of Fourier's theories, in a volume entitled "The Social Destiny of Man". The author was Albert Brisbane of Batavia, N. Y., the father of Arthur Brisbane of the Hearst newspapers. Albert Brisbane may also be called the father of socialism in America, for it was from Brisbane's writings that the American people obtained their first knowledge of Fourier's teachings.

Albert Brisbane was the son of James Brisbane who was one of the founders (and the first postmaster) of Batavia. Instead of sending his son, Albert, to college, he sent him abroad to study. He travelled in every country in Europe, and also went to Egypt and the far east. In every country which he visited he met and discussed social problems with distinguished men.

In 1842 the New York Tribune, whose editor, Horace Greeley, was in sympathy with the views of Fourier and Brisbane, started a department devoted to co-operative communities. Of this department Albert Brisbane was the editor. Later he also established a news-

paper called The Phalanx which advocated co-operative communities.

The weekly and semi-weekly Tribune, which had a nation-wide circulation among the farmers brought the teachings of Fourier into Wisconsin. They aroused particular attention in Kenosha, which was then known as Southport. The Franklin Lyceum was formed, and here were held debates on Fourier's theory. Among those who took part were Louis P. Harvey, afterwards governor of Wisconsin, and Charles Durkee, who afterwards became a member of the United States senate from this state.

An association was formed called the Wisconsin Phalanx. Stock was sold at $25 per share. Ebenezer Childs of Green Bay was engaged to select government land for a proposed co-operative colony based on the theories of Fourier and Brisbane.

Warren Chase was one of the men who took a leading part in the project. He was a ready writer and speaker. In 1844 Mr. Chase went to Green Bay and entered at the land office the tract selected by Childs which consisted of 1,440 acres in Fond du Lac county.

On Monday, May 20, 1844, 19 men and one boy started from Kenosha for the new colony. Except a few families around Green Lake, there was no other settlement within twenty miles.

By fall the the pioneers had three buildings erected and they brought their families from Southport which increased the population to 80. Crops were planted and a saw mill built. All cooking was done in one kitchen, the members taking their meals together. The colony

was given the name of Ceresco, a postoffice was established, and a school started. Soon after a new town was laid out nearby called Ripon of which Captain David P. Mapes was the founder, and a rivalry sprang up between the two communities.

In 1846, 800 acres of various crops were harvested by the Ceresco colony, the crop of wheat amounting to 20,000 bushels.

In 1845 through the co-operation of labor the cost of good board was reduced to 63 cents per week. But notwithstanding this economy, the number of families who patronized the common table became less and less, until 1848 when every family gathered around its own table.

In 1849 the Ceresco community began to break up, partly owing to dissension between the leaders, and partly because the members grew tired of community life, as did the members of Brook Farm. In the spring of 1850, at the request of its members, a law was passed by the legislature authorizing the dissolution of the association, and the sale of its property. It brought nearly $40,000. The domain of the old Phalanx constituted what is now the first ward of the city of Ripon.

Warren Chase wrote an epitaph for the colony. Here it is:

"Born in the spring of 1844 in Southport, Wisconsin, nursed and educated by several teachers, but principally by the Ladies' advocate (Mr. Chase); Married in 1845 by the territorial legislature of the state of Wisconsin (the wife died when the territory became a state); certified by Governor Talmadge; settled and lived in town 16, range 14, which is

named Ceresco, in honor of Ceres, a corn goddess, of which it was a worshipper; grew and flourished and controlled the town for several years, until it took sick, first of chills and fever, and finally of a severe fever which weakened its vital powers until in 1859 it died, quietly and resignedly, having reigned six years triumphantly, and put all enemies under its feet by its justice and honor; owned a large farm which was divided among its children, greatly improving their estate, and leaving all but the Lone One better than it found them; had been a great stock and grain grower, raising in one season as high as 10,000 bushels of wheat; had one genius who did most of its preaching and law business, and others who attended to the sanitary department; never used intoxicating drinks nor allowed them on its farm; never used profane language, nor allowed it, except by strangers; never had a law suit nor legal counsel; had little sickness and no religious revivals; never had a case of licentiousness; nor complaint of immoral conduct; lived a strictly moral, honest, upright, and vigorous life, and yet was hated, dispised, abused, slandered, lied about and misrepresented in all the country about, mostly by the preachers; kept a school of its own all the time; took five or six newspapers in each family; stopped work on Sunday to accommodate the neighbors. But its members danced without rum or vulgarism or profanity. They had meetings without prayers, and babies without doctors. But the colony was prematurely born, and tried to live before its proper time, and so of course, it must die and be born again."

The Ceresco colony is said to have been one of the largest and most successful of any co-operative colonies not founded on some religious idea.

Wisconsin is the foremost state in the union in present-day co-operative enterprises. It has co-operative breeders' associations, cheese factories, creameries, fruit exchanges, laundries, milk selling companies, packing plants, telephones, insurance companies, tobacco warehouses, live stock shipping associations and general stores.

A bulletin issued by Wisconsin university and written by H. B. Hibbard and Asher Hobson states that the annual amount of co-operative business done in the state amounted to about 63 million dollars. Since this bulletin was issued, a large and successful co-operative tobacco pool has been formed which in 1922 handled $4,000,000 worth of tobacco. A recent list of co-operative companies prepared by the state department of markets shows 350 creameries, 600 cheese factories, 429 livestock shipping associations six tobacco warehouses, four dealing in wool, two in cabbage, one in cauliflower, 40 in vegetables, 50 in coal and cement, 175 in general merchandise, 100 in grain, flour and feed, five in fruit, and 12 miscellaneous, besides three co-operative tanneries.

The American Society of Equity has been the leading farmers' organization in the northwest encouraging and teaching co-operative enterprises. About 12,000 farmers in this state have been organized into about 400 local unions.

The Society of Equity was organized purely as an educational association, to investigate co-operative undertakings and teach co operative methods.

During recent years its influence has declined, its membership has fallen off, and it has become involved in financial difficulties principally because of efforts to use it for furthering the political ambitions of some of its officers.

Wisconsin being the greatest dairy state in the union, its leading co-operative enterprises have been creameries and cheese factories. These have been organized into federations, something like the California Fruit Growers' Exchange and the California Associated Raisin Company. The Wisconsin Cheese Federation in 1919 handled the product of 120 factories which produced over 14,000,000 pounds of cheese. Its main office and principal warehouse is at Plymouth.

The university bulletin mentioned, recounts how the promotion of co-operative companies by professional promoters has led to disaster. The promotion of creameries is an illustration. The farmers wanted creameries, the creamery took butter-making out of the hands of the farmer's wife, and, at the same time furnished a cash market for the butter. It was a vast improvement over the home manufacturing method. About 1500 creameries were promoted at a cost to the farmers of about $5,000 each. They were usually sold to the farmers for far more than they were worth, and some were started where they were not really needed and had no chance of success.

Packing plants have also been organized for the most part by men whose interest in

them began and ended with the receipt of fees. "Altogether" say Messrs. Hibbard and Hobson, "the farmers of Wisconsin have paid out about a quarter of a million dollars in order that they themselves might be persuaded to go into the packing business. Had this money been expended as a tuition fee for the purpose of being taught the mysteries of the packing business, it would no doubt have been a wise use of the funds, but the packing business lessons are still to be learned. The critical feeling of the farmers against monopolies in general, and the big packers in particular, is played upon in winning the desired support—and commissions. The same is being done in other lines of promotion also.

"Co-operation among farmers succeeds rarely except where it grows naturally out of the needs, experiences and aspirations of the interested parties. Most successful co-operation has started in a small way and grown gradually to greater proportions."

Last fall the Northern States Co-operative League conducted a successful five weeks' course in co-operative training for executive positions in co-operative societies.

The subjects taught were the history and principles of the co-operative movement, double entry bookkeeping, and business management.

The European co-operative enterprises started out by hiring men with ordinary business training, but soon found out that in order to be a successful executive of a co-operative enterprise, something besides ordinary business training is important. The psychology of the movement comes first, then the necessary

business training. These facts after being discovered resulted in the establishment of co-operative schools in every country in Europe where co-operation had secured a foothold. And in some countries like Denmark the co-operative schools are recognized as a very important part of the educational system.

Wisconsin has had a number of co-operative tobacco pools. The first was formed in 1908 through educational work by the Wisconsin union of the Society of Equity. Farmers' tobacco warehouses were organized at 17 different places. These local co-operative warehouses packed over 11,000 cases of "grades", and several million pounds of low grade tobacco.

Due to a difference regarding policies between the directors of the Equity Society and some of the local warehouses, the tobacco department withdrew from the Equity organization and incorporated under the name of the Farmers' Tobacco Association. This association packed about 3,000 cases in 1910. From 1913 to 1918 tobacco pooling was carried on by individual co-operative warehouses, and there was no concerted action in selling.

The Northern Wisconsin Co-operative Tobacco Pool formed in 1922 with the assistance of the state department of markets, has been a successful enterprise, marketing four million dollars' worth of tobacco last year.

A grower to become a member of the tobacco pool must sign a contract agreeing to sell to the tobacco association all the tobacco grown by him from the time that a certain percentage of the growers in his county (to be specified in the contract) sign similar contracts, until

a certain date named in the contract; the price to be paid for the tobacco to be the average re-sale price, minus the expense of marketing.

The success of Wisconsin's latest tobacco pool, and the success of all other co-operative movements in Wisconsin have been greatly promoted by the activities of our market commission, established in 1921. The law under which it was established gives the commission powers to investigate co-operative organizations, prescribe systems of accounting for them, and in various other ways safeguard the interests of the members.

The Wisconsin co-operative law of 1911 has often been referred to by students of co-operative movements as a model.

E. M. Tousley in his work entitled "Co-operation" says:

"All believers in true co-operation will rejoice with us in the knowledge that Wisconsin has passed a co-operative bill substantially as it was introduced in the legislature last winter, and as recommended by the best co-operators. This legislation will undoubtedly have a far reaching and beneficient effect on the progress of co-operation in Wisconsin. In no other state, and in no other period in the history of the republic have the people had the privilege of organizing under a law, having in it features which protect them from the exploitation of grafters and from the powerful rule which concentrated wealth carries with it.

"Every state in the union has laws upon its statute books providing for the formation of corporations. In every one of these laws, however, the main feature provided for and considered most important, is that of capital.

Practically no attention or protection is given or paid to the small minority stock holders. These laws give each share the privilege of a vote, although such share is the mere representative of money, and not of a human being, thus it will at once be seen that money, and money alone is the controlling feature. Again, in a corporation the profits or surplus each year is not only allowed but is forced to be divided among the stockholders, in proportion to capital investment in shares of stock, regardless of who assisted in creating the profits or surplus by their labor, physical or mental, patronage or other helpfulness. These features of our corporation laws have combined to take away from labor practically all values created by it outside of a bare living."

Robert A. Campbell, who was secretary of the board of public affairs, in 1915, writing on Co-operation in America in the Wisconsin Farmer said:

"Wisconsin takes pride in the fact that she has been and still is one of the leaders of the co-operative movement in America. It began at an early date. Its history may be divided roughly into two parts, the organization and management of local co-operative concerns, and the great state and nation-wide movement of farmers and laboring men, like the organizations of the Grange, the Equity and Knights of Labor. Each played its part. The brotherhood movement supplied the inspiration and enthusiasm and local units developed practical working principles. Accounts of the first have been written, the story of the second is still a part of the unwritten social and industrial history of the state."

Wisconsin's market commission is the only state marketing department which has power to prohibit unfair methods of competition and unfair trade practices. The Wisconsin law of 1921 is the only state law which gives its market commission jurisdiction over manufactured products as well as over agricultural products. Big business interests throughout the state put up a fight against this feature of our law, and it was carried through the legislature by a bare majority after numerous hearings.

By the establishment of the Farmers' State Service Bureau, the Nonpartisan League has introduced what is in some respects a new principle of co-operative buying. Realizing the huge profits made by agents who are selling goods to the farmers, the Farmers' State Service Bureau has engaged a trained expert buyer. It is found that the farmers by uniting their buying power can save one-half of the ordinary agent's commission on almost everything purchased from agents. The peculiar merit of the method of co-operative buying practiced by the State Service Bureau lies in the fact that no investment of capital is required, the farmers pay in advance for the articles which they purchase, they pay the regular standard retail prices for automobiles, pianos, phonographs, sewing machines, and farm implements. But by obtaining a combination of orders, the State Service Bureau is enabled to obtain a commission on the combined orders, and this commission at stated intervals is returned to the farmers as their share of the profit of the Service Bureau.

Wisconsin Socialists have been a tower of

strength in the co-operative movement in the state.

Until I came to Wisconsin, I cannot remember that I ever met a Socialist farmer, and in fact, I thought "there were no such animals". But there are thousands of them in Wisconsin. And they encourage all co-operative movements, not only for their intrinsic merits but because it trains the people in the practice of carrying on business for service rather than for profit, and thus leads to Socialism.

Fifteen thousand co-operators in Polk county, Wisconsin, recently celebrated the union of their forces to market crops and buy their supplies. Their parade was led by co-operative pioneers who established the first co-operative dairy in Wisconsin in 1884, then came 500 school children, whose banner announced "We are one hundred per cent co-operators." Butter makers from one hundred co-operative creameries were in the parade.

And co-operation is favored in Wisconsin on account of the strong peace sentiment in this state. Co-operation prevents competition. and competition breeds war because it promotes the hatred and strife which inspires war.

CHAPTER XIX.

Public Ownership.

Two constitutional amendments are needed in Wisconsin to promote public ownership. One article in our state constitution prohibits the state from contracting any indebtedness for internal improvements, except for the construction or improvement of public highways. It was not until November, 1908, that an amendment was adopted which says that "the state may appropriate money in the treasury, or to be thereafter raised by taxation, for the construction or improvement of highways."

Another article in our constitution prohibits cities from contracting any indebtedness aggregating more than five per cent of the value of taxable property.

A joint resolution providing for a constitutional amendment which would permit cities to contract an indebtedness equal to ten per cent of their taxable property was passed by the 1919 and 1921 legislatures and submitted to a vote of the people in November, 1922. This election found the friends of municipal ownership so intent on re-electing Senator La Follette and Governor Blaine, that they overlooked the important referendum regarding this constitutional amendment.

But the friends of private monopoly were not caught napping, and only two or three days before the election they cause to be printed full page advertisements in a large chain of newspapers in all parts of the state, which read as follows:

"DO YOU WANT YOUR POCKET PICKED?

"*Well, that's exactly what will happen to you unless you watch your step when you go to the polls on November 7.*

"You are going to be asked to amend the State Constitution so as to permit any municipality to double its indebtedness, to acquire or build street railway properties, to buy properties for the production, transmission, delivery, or furnishing of light, heat, water or power to the public.

"This means that *276 million dollars* worth of property on which taxes are now being paid will become tax-exempt. Who will pay the taxes to the State and to the Government on that 276 million dollars? You will, Mr. Voter. You will fill up that money hole if you are sucker enough to vote 'yes' on this Amendment.

"Get mad about being called a 'sucker'. Get mad enough to vote 'No' on the most vicious piece of legislation that has been proposed since 'Grape-juice' Bill Bryan pulled his unsafe, unsound, ridiculous 16 to 1 stuff.

"If this Amendment passes it gives the politicians free rein to buy a lot of broken-down utilities at fabulous prices, with your money.

"The next step in the program is that the bonds now outstanding on these properties, and that would be issued by the municipalities to finance operations, would be tax-exempt.

"Do you know just what tax-exempt means? It means a perfectly legal way for the millionaires to invest their money to avoid paying taxes.

"But you, Mr. Farmer, Mr. Salaried-man,

Mr. Cottage-owner, Mr. Laborer, you pay the taxes that they escape.

"True, the bankers and the bond men will make a lot of money out of selling the new crop of tax-free securities, but there isn't any real good reason why you should line their pockets while yours are being picked.

"Don't let anybody fool you into thinking that your increased taxes will be offset by a reduction in the cost of light, heat, power, water, or transportation. You recall how the railroads were operated by-guess and by-god during the war. You remember that ships which cost a couple of hundred thousand dollars each were sold by the Emergency Fleet Corporation for as low as $600. a piece.

"You know that public-built utilities are built and developed at fancy prices that a private institution would never dream of paying. How do they get away with it? By the people casting their votes without thinking. By the voters authorizing a lot of tricky, shrewd, grafting, politicians to make expenditures such as are proposed under the Amendment on the Pink Ballot.

"Go to the Polls November 7 with a grim determination to VOTE 'NO' ON DOUBLING THE DEBT.

"Kill the Pink Ballot!"

This advertisement well illustrates the character of the opposition to municipal ownership in Wisconsin and I think it also illustrates the character of the men who have a monopolistic grip upon the water powers of the state.

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan made an illuminat-

ing comment on this advertisement. He said:

"The people who are behind this eleventh hour anonymous attack upon the amendment to permit cities to incur an additional five per cent debt for the purchase of public utilities did not have the nerve to appear before the state legislature which has twice approved this amendment.

"Who are these people? Who is the Economy League? It seems to be more than a coincidence that the Chicago Advertising Agency which handled this advertisement also handled the advertising of the Schlitz Brewery in former days, and is handling advertising for Uihliens now. More than $25,000 must have been spent in this campaign, which covered the entire state. The Uihlien people are also interested in the sale of municipal and public utility bonds.

"The success of this referendum will be worth one million dollars a year to Milwaukee and the state in lower gas, electric, and street car fare. Milwaukee has a sufficient bond limit to construct a lighting plant. When a proposal was made a year ago to do this, the electric company cut the rates for city street lighting $100,000 a year, and the rates for residence lighting $400,000.

"If we had the power to finance the purchase of public utilities we would get lower rates. Unless we have such power we cannot expect lower rates or extensions into the suburbs. We cannot return the seven or eight per cent which is necessary to secure capital to build the extensions by the traction companies. The city could get this money for four

per cent which would make possible remunerative returns from such extensions.

"When this amendment was proposed in 1917 32 civic organizations grouped in Milwaukee as the mayor's advisory board, endorsed it, unanimously. The League of Wisconsin Municipalities has endorsed it, the Milwaukee City council have approved it twice, the Wisconsin Equity Society has approved it, and the state legislature has adopted it twice. The only objection has come from this anonymous source at the eleventh hour."

Of course, this $25,000 paid out for advertising called out a large amount of editorial comment, in harmony with the text of the advertisement.

The amendment was defeated. About 105,000 votes were cast for it and about 219,000 against it. Over 481,000 votes were cast for governor, so there were about 150,000 persons who went to the polls, and either they did not know or they did not care anything about public ownership.

The fate of this constitutional amendment illustrates that successful political action depends more upon an appeal to the feelings than to the reason. It is hard to carry reform measures unless you have them bound up in concrete form in the shape of a political leader.

The Nonpartisan League platform, and the La Follette progressive platform had said:

"We believe that the water powers of the state are the inalienable property of all the people, and to this end demand that they be

developed in the interests of the whole people, and not exploited for private gain."

This was one of the planks of the La Follette progressive platform of 1920 which was dropped out of the platform of "glittering generalities" promulgated in 1922.

And if the voters of Wisconsin had been asked whether they favored this plank or not, they would have endorsed it by an overwhelming majority.

In several of his speeches during the 1922 campaign, Senator La Follette spoke in favor of government ownership of the railroads. Governor Blaine had written a letter in which he declared in favor of government ownership of the coal mines, but so far as I can learn, neither Senator La Follette nor Governor Blaine in their campaign speeches of 1922 spoke a word in favor of the constitutional amendment which would have opened up the gateway to municipal ownership of public utilities.

What an impediment to progress certain articles in our constitution have been! As originally adopted even indebtedness for state highways was prohibited, and the provision prohibiting a municipal indebtedness beyond five per cent of the assessed value of the property of the city, recognizes no difference between an indebtedness to acquire a public utility yielding revenue, and other kinds of indebtedness.

Our state constitution, like our federal constitution (before the first ten amendments were framed) seems better calculated to protect the rights of property than the rights of man.

More than 30 years ago Dr. Richard T. Ely of Wisconsin university discussed public ownership as follows:

"Monopoly is inevitable. Private monopoly is odious. Public monopoly is a blessing and the test of experience proves it. Again and again it has been tried with fear and trembling but the results in the long run have been gratifying.

"But shall we at once try to substitute public ownership and management of natural monopolies for private ownership and management in the United States? The private interests opposed to this step, the apathy, indifference, and prejudice to be overcome, are so tremendous that there is no sort of danger of moving too rapidly in this matter. What the writer would advocate is limitation of charters for natural monopolies and an extension of the reserved rights of the public in order that such changes as shall finally be decided to be beneficial, may be easily and readily made.

"The right of purchase of a natural monopoly without paying anything for the franchise itself, but only for value of capital actually invested, and for its value in its condition at time of purchase, ought always to be reserved. Local natural monopolies ought to pass into the hands of local authorities as soon as possible, and no charters ought hereafter to be granted for private gas, water, or electric lighting works. Always begin reform at home."

Professor Ely then goes on to show how public ownership of natural monopolies will prevent an undue concentration of wealth,

avoid waste in attempted competition, and tend to the purification of politics. He says:

"Private monopolies must be controlled by public authority, and control means interference with private business, and this begets corruption. Wherever electric lighting is supplied by a private corporation the stock is distributed 'where it will do the most good', among influential citizens, newspaper proprietors, and politicans and we have a powerful factor arrayed against good government. This is why American citizens pay such large sums for the services rendered by corporations, and one reason why the government of American cities is so expensive. When, however, we have public ownership and management of natural monopolies public interests and private interests are identified, and the best citizens are on the side of good government.

"Those who take pains can observe evidences, of this on every hand. Mayors, where electric lighting is done by the municipality, will testify to the good political effects. We have here the suggestion of the true way to reform our civil service. It is idle to say, 'Wait until our civil service is better, and then we will introduce the principle of public ownership and management of natural monopolies'. The industrial reform must precede, for that alone can open the door to thoroughgoing reform of our administration."

He further points out that it is not true that private enterprises are more alert to initiative improvements. He cites many illustrations to prove this.

Nor does Dr. Ely seem to be afraid of the epithet "socialism", which we always hear

when the public ownership of monopolies is advocated. Of socialism, Dr. Ely says:

"Socialism has rendered good service by calling attention to social problems, by forcing us to reflect on the condition of the less fortunate classes, by quickening our consciences, also by helping us to form the habit acquired by few as yet, of looking at all questions from the standpoint of public welfare, and not merely of individual gain, and finally by calling our attention to the nature of the industrial functions of government, and helping us to separate rationally the private industrial sphere. Socialism as a theory of society cannot of course be regarded as in any sense morally blameworthy. It has been advocated by good men and by bad men also. Today it numbers earnest Christians and sincere ministers of the gospel among its adherents. As there are good Republicans and bad Republicans, so there are good socialists and bad socialists. If every time a Republican was guilty of a criminal act all the newspapers said 'that is what comes of being a Republican' we might begin to think all Republicans bad men".

Hamlet was criticized by a man who heard the play for the first time, because it was so full of quotations. This chapter may be subject to the same criticism, but I believe the quotations are the best part of it.

It may be discouraging to note how little progress in public ownership has been made in Wisconsin in 30 years but this should teach us that our supreme need is a leader, whom the people trust, and who will put into action

through his leadership the reforms demanded by present-day conditions. Such a leader I believe Wisconsin now has in George F. Comings.

The defeat of the Eber water power bill in the assembly during the 1923 session was deplorable. It called for an appropriation of $25,000 to enable the railroad commission to find out and report to the people as to what water powers of value in the state have not already been acquired by private corporations, in order that steps might intelligently be taken by future legislatures to retain and use for the people the water power rights which have not already been given away to privilege-seeking corporations.

At the time the Eber bill was before the legislature there were also pending concurrent resolutions providing for the submission to the people of constitutional amendments permitting the state to contract indebtedness for "internal improvements", and raising the debt limit of cities.

Carl D. Thompson of the Public Ownership League of America, having headquarters at Chicago, came to Wisconsin and aroused much interest in the Eber bill, which had been prepared by Edwin J. Gross of Milwaukee, who is a member of the executive committee of the Public Ownership League and head of the state association of La Follette Progressive clubs. Mr. Thompson spoke at a meeting of representative citizens of Milwaukee at the office of Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, and in Madison he spoke at a convention of the State Woman's Progressive Association and at a meeting of Dr. John Weller Long's legislative class.

Mr. Thompson told us of the superpower plant now being operated in Ontario, Canada by the hydro-electric power commission of that province, where electricity generated by the biggest power system in the world is sold at less than three cents per kilowatt hour. The plant represents an investment of $230,000,000. It supplies 275 cities with electricity generated from Niagara and other water powers. The maximum rate charged is less than three cents per kilowatt hour, while the average maximum rate in Chicago and all other cities in the United States is nine cents.

The Eber bill stipulated that while the water power investigation was under way, no grants should be made to private interests for establishing hydro-electric power plants.

"In many American cities", said Mr. Thompson, "like Tacoma and Seattle, electric power heats the home. Houses are built without chimneys, and no coal goes in and no ashes come out.

"The record-breaking low rate in the province of Ontario results in the acquisition of new manufacturing plants, averaging one every two weeks, some coming from New York state, some from Chicago."

At the hearings on the Eber bill Professor Daniel W. Mead of the university appeared in opposition to it. He said it would discourage water power development while the state ought to encourage it. Of course, what the utilities corporations objected to most, was any cessation of permits for new plants.

Harold L. Geisse, president of the Wisconsin Utilities Association, said the state would lose thousands of dollars in taxes, owing to

the fact that sites now held for development would lie idle, and those who have invested money in these cities would lose large sums in interest on their money.

Lieutenant-Governor Comings, Miss Ada James of the Woman's Progressive Association, and representatives of the Nonpartisan League appeared in favor of the bill.

It was recommended for passage, and the first vote in the assembly showed only seven members voting for indefinite postponement, with 54 opposed. A later vote in the assembly showed 51 votes for indefinite postponement and the bill was defeated. What made these 44 members change their minds? No doubt it was partly because of opposition from agents of Henry Ford. He was represented at the hearings by R. A. Walter, who said that Ford already had extensive water power holdings in the state, and that he wanted no delay in pushing their development.

Professor Mead of the university has been one of the most sturdy defenders of the corporations, exploiting the water powers of the state for private gain. One of the arguments used against the Eber bill was that the state has a law now in force under which it may acquire the ownership of hydro-electric plants. Under this law each applicant for a permit from the railroad commission to acquire water right privileges must file with the application the following proposal (We quote from the statute of 1915, as amended in 1917):

"The commission prior to the time the permit is granted shall value the dam sight and all flowage rights and other property necessary for the purposes set forth in the applica-

tion for the permit, whether the same or any part thereof are owned by the applicant or not.

2. The commission shall audit all outlays for property and for the construction of the dam, buildings, and other structures and works constructed, maintained and operated, and used and useful under the permit.

3. The permit if granted, shall be granted and accepted subject to the express condition that the state of Wisconsin, if it shall have the constitutional power, or any municipality, on not less than one year's notice, at any time after the expiration of THIRTY YEARS, after the permit becomes effective, may acquire all the property of the grantee used and useful under the permit by paying therefor the cost of reproduction in their then existing condition, of all dams, works, buildings, or other structures or equipment, used and useful under the permit as determined by the commission, and by paying in addition thereto the value of the dam site, and all flowage rights and other property as determined by the commission, prior to the time the permit was granted as provided in subsection one, plus the amount paid out for the additional flowage rights, if any, acquired after the valuation made by the commission, as provided in subsection one; and that the applicant waives all right to any further compensation."

The law I have quoted above is in many respects similar to a law passed in 1913 which it superseded.

In an address delivered before the Engineers' Society of Milwaukee in 1914, Professor Mead pictured the owners of hydro-electric power plants as being engaged in a business

about as unremunerative and hazardous as wheat raising in North Dakota.

The professor explained to the engineers that there is "a popular delusion in the mind of the public, widely spread, that as undeveloped water power is energy going to waste, so therefore those who may develop and utilize such power will garner untold wealth, and will pocket the return from a natural resource which should justly belong to the people of the state or of the nation."

Then he went on to explain, "even if the legal restrictions on the development of water power in the state of Wisconsin were entirely removed, their intrinsic value is so restricted by natural and commercial conditions that the development of such power would be slow, and that the great majority of potential water powers of the state have no present value whatever, and only a remote speculative value for possible developments in the future."

Yet, since 1914, when these statements were made, there has been a continual reaching out by the great accumulators of wealth for the acquirement of these so-called valueless water powers. Here is another passage from Professor Mead's address:

"The popular conception of water power development is that such developments are usually carried out by men of great wealth, combined in a so-called water power trust, known as 'the trust which will contain all other trusts', and variously described by the writers of popular conservation and economic fiction. * * * * Men of wealth find a better market for their investment. The man of small means finds in legitimate water power development

an investment which may return him more than ordinary interest."

As Henry Ford is, and for some time has been, one of the principal buyers of water power privileges, I suppose Professor Mead would not count him a man of great wealth!

Another reason why Professor Mead, ten years ago, took such a pessimistic view of the outlook for developing hydro-electric power in Wisconsin was that our state stock and bond law prohibited the issue of watered stock. He says:

"Would any sane investor purchase a five per cent bond on any undeveloped business when he can secure equal returns from a farm or other real estate mortgage? But if a stock bonus can be obtained with such a bond, it will give the purchaser a chance not only of increased returns, but of increased capital value, and such an investment at once becomes more attractive. * * * I believe it to be entirely impossible at the present time to build a two million dollar water power plant, or to develop almost any industry by the issue of one million dollars in bonds, and one million dollars in stock, to be sold at their par value."

And then he tells the engineers that, "Any of the methods for financing water power industries by the issue of speculative stock at less than par, and which when honestly carried out are morally unobjectionable, are entirely impossible under the present restrictions of this state."

And he asks, "Is the stock and bond law of the state simply a protection to the capitalist, and designed to discourage enterprise in the men of small means?"

But in spite of our law against the issuance of watered stock, water power developments by privately owned corporations have gone steadily forward.

"No man," Professor Mead told the engineers, "takes part in commercial development without the hope of reward, and the farther such hope of reward is removed, the less development will result. If, by legislation, the hope of reward is entirely removed, only socialism can result. Are we ready for such a remedy?"

Of course, what Professor Mead means here by socialism is the public ownership of public utilities.

Professor Mead's address was to a large extent an attack on the water power law of 1913, one feature of which was afterwards declared unconstitutional, and this led to the enactment of the laws of 1915 and 1917, which I have quoted.

But it was not alone the law of 1913, and our law prohibiting the sale of watered stock which he regarded as fatal to the future development in the state of any important water power enterprises, for he said, "Even under a favorable water power act the present utility laws of the state may effectually prevent any considerable hydro-electric development."

The law he objects to reads as follows:

"No license, permit or franchise shall be granted by any person, co-partnership or corporation, to own, operate, manage or control any plant or equipment for the production, transmission, delivery or furnishing of heat, light, water, or power in any municipality, where there is in operation under an indeter-

minate permit, as provided in this act, a public utility engaged in similar service, without first securing from the commission a declaration after a public hearing of all parties interested that public convenience and necessity require such public utility."

But in spite of this law, ever since the time when Professor Mead delivered his address, municipally owned electric light and power companies have in large numbers been done away with, the municipalities taking hydro-electric power from some large corporation supplying a chain of cities. Professor Mead closed his address by saying:

"No citizen of Wisconsin can prosper unless others prosper also, and no citizen be unjustly deprived of his property rights and restricted and hampered in his endeavors without restricting and hampering the prosperity and advancement of the state and of the nation."

This is a favorite philosophy which comes from the great accumulators of wealth enjoying special privileges and special immunities. You make us rich and prosperous and more or less of our riches and prosperity will filter through us to you.

That this preposterous theory has taken a strong hold upon the minds of many was shown at the hearing on the Eber bill and in the discussion on the floor of the assembly, when one of the prime reasons for the defeat of the bill was said to be that the building of dams in so many parts of the state, particularly in the northern counties was giving employment to thousands of farmers, who except for the wages they were earning would have their farms sold for taxes. So Henry Ford and

other constructors of hydro-electric plants were pictured as great public benefactors. in giving the people—work.

At every session of the legislature during the past ten years or more a concurrent resolution has been introduced providing for a repeal of the section of the constitution which prohibits the state from contracting indebtedness for internal improvements. But in every case the resolution has failed of adoption, so the people have had no opportunity to vote on this question.

But at the 1923 session a concurrent resolution for the initiative, referendum and recall was passed. This resolution will come before the legislature again in 1925. If then adopted, it will come up for a vote of the people in the fall of 1926. If adopted, it will provide a method for securing constitutional amendments without the delay now required. Any concurrent resolutions for a constitutional amendment passing the legislature will be voted on at the next general election. And if a resolution providing for a constitutional amendment should be voted down by the legislature, it can be submitted to a vote of the people provided a proper petition is filed with the secretary of state, signed by five per cent of the total vote cast for governor at the last election, not more than one-half the petitioners residing in any one county. But the earliest date in any contingency upon which Wisconsin voters can pass on amendments to the constitution which are necessary for public owner ship projects will be in the fall of 1928.

For several years municipal ownership of electric light and power plants has been stead-

ily declining and superseded by corporation ownership. L. E. Gettle of the railroad commission says there are only four or five cities in the state of over 10,000 inhabitants which are not obtaining their electric power from some one of the large corporations controlling water powers.

The Southern Wisconsin Power Company, located at Kilbourn, on the Wisconsin River furnishes power to the Milwaukee Electric Railroad & Light Co. The Wisconsin River Power Company at Prairie du Sac, on the Wisconsin River, also furnishes power to the Milwaukee Electric Railroad & Light Company, and also sells current to the Wisconsin Power, Light & Heat Company which distributes it to more than 20 cities, including Madison.

The Wisconsin Public Service Company and the Northeastern Power Company which have hydro-electric plants on the Peshtigo River and the Menomonie River supply current to Green Bay, Sturgeon Bay, Oshkosh, Marinette, Oconto, and other places, in all about 15 cities.

The Peninsula Power Company has plants on the Brule, Menomonie, Pine and Sturgeon rivers. It serves power to six cities and to the iron mines in northern Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin Valley Electric Company own plants on the Wisconsin and Plover rivers, and furnishes current to Merrill, Wausau, Stevens Point, Tomahawk, and in all to ten cities.

The Northern Wisconsin Hydro-Electric Power Co. has plants on the Flambeau, Bad, White and Montreal rivers, and sends power to Hurley, Wis., Ironwood, Mich., and to Ash-

land, Ladysmith, and ten other Wisconsin cities.

The Wisconsin-Minnesota Light and Power Company, having plants on the Chippewa and Red Cedar rivers sends power to St. Paul and Minneapolis, and to about 72 cities and villages in Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin Railroad Commission estimates that there have been developments in the state water powers producing about 300,000 horsepower, and that there are undeveloped water powers capable of producing about 200,000 horse power.

In view of the two constitutional amendments which stand in the way of public ownership projects by the state, is there no way in which the people can rid themselves of the extortions of the water power monopolies? I believe there is. If the people were satisfied of the soundness of public ownership principles, and believed that light, heat and power obtained from natural resources should be furnished for cost and not for profit, they might, through the legislature, establish public service districts throughout the state, with powers analogous to those granted to drainage districts under our drainage laws.

There is nothing in our constitution to prevent this. The federal constitution limits the powers of the national goverment to the specific grants enumerated, but our state government can do any of the things not prohibited by our constitution.

The state legislature could provide by law for the creation of one or more utility districts, giving to the districts the right to organize and carry on such activities as might be pro-

vided by law, including the right to take by condemnation proceedings power plants, and transmission lines. The law could provide that the representatives of the district might pay for the utilities by some form of taxation, or it might give the districts the right to issue bonds and pay the interest and principal of the bonds out of the money charged for service, thus permitting the properties to pay for themselves without any direct taxation.

CHAPTER XX.

Direct Primaries and Corrupt Practices Acts.

It is pleasant to turn from the unfavorable outlook for public ownership, recounted in the previous chapter, to a narrative in which Wisconsin has taken first rank in progressive legislation, as recounted in this and the following chapters.

Wisconsin was the first state to adopt a state-wide direct primary in 1903. Prior to that time Minnesota had in 1899 provided for primary elections for the nomination of local officers in Minneapolis. Not until 1912, however, did Minnesota have a state-wide primary. New York state followed in 1913 with the enactment of one of the worst direct primary laws ever put on the statue books of any state. It was devised by the corrupt Tammany bosses who had plotted and carried out the impeachment of Governor Sulzer, partly because he had attempted to have written on the statute books a genuine direct primary law. State-wide primary laws are now in force in nearly all states. Some of these laws, however, provide for a mixed, convention and primary system, and a large number do not have an open primary as does Wisconsin.

State conventions have been restored in New York state, principally for the benefit of grafters. They were never altogether abolished, for after the passage of the primary law of 1913, unofficial conventions were held and corrupt bossism continued to flourish. Only once after the passing of the fake primary law of 1913 was there any effort to break up boss

rule, by nominating a state ticket by petition, in opposition to a ticket selected at the state convention. State conventions are demanded by corrupt political bosses in order that the big corporations and contractors seeking state jobs, may through their agents, the bosses, get their hands in the state treasury.

State conventions are necessary, because the state conventions pick out the governor, and the governor through his powers of appointment and removal controls the departments.

The uninitiated think that public offices are the main prizes, sought by those who make politics a mere game. Not so. The big prizes are *contracts* given out by the highway department, the department of public works and various others.

Consequently, New York state bosses are quite willing that the voters themselves shall nominate congressmen, assemblymen, state senators, and other minor officers. But what they will not stand for is, nominations by the people for the governorship, which carries with it the key to the state treasury.

Wisconsin passed a stringent corrupt practices act in 1911, many features of which have been copied in other states. There were corrupt practices acts in many states including Wisconsin, prior to this date, but none of them were as comprehensive as the Wisconsin law of 1911.

The Wisconsin act is based upon the English principle that all campaign expenditures are illegal except those expressly authorized by law.

When I lived in New York state I was an ad-

vocate of legislation prohibiting members of political committees from soliciting voters on election day to go to the polls, and also prohibiting them from soliciting voters on registration day to go to the polls and register. We might thus have a lighter vote, but it would be more intelligent and conscientious, for the vote of those who do not have interest enough in political issues and candidates, to go to the polls and register, and afterwards vote, on their own initiative, will not cast a vote of any real value to the state. Does the vote of men who go to the polls because a free automobile is at their disposal, or because they wish to please their employer, or the local political boss, tend toward good government? I think not, a vote thus cast is akin to the vote that comes out in pursuance of bribery.

Furthermore, work, which the Democratic campaign committee does in bringing indifferent voters to the polls, is cancelled by a parallel work done by the Republican campaign committee. If one party has a more efficient system than the other, in handling the indifferent voters, it is usually due to the fact that it has a larger campaign fund, and thus the result of the election is really determined by money, just as it used to be when out-and-out vote buying flourished.

Vote solicitation by "party workers" or ward heelers is utterly inconsistent with good citizenship. Not but what we may, with entire propriety express our political convictions, and earnestly advocate the principles of the party to which we belong, and commend the candidates we intend to vote for, in fact, it is our duty to do all this, but what I opposed was

vote solicitation on election day *by political committees or their employes.*

The reform I advocated, I contended, would inevitably produce a change for the better in the type of men selected for political committeeships. There would be no occasion for making political canvasses by committees, for the canvass is taken as a basis for work on the last registration day, and on election day.

I said the reform I advocated would leave political committees little or nothing except educational work. Their functions would be mainly to arrange public meetings and prepare and circulate campaign literature, and a better type of men would be willing to serve on political committees.

The reduction of the functions of political committees would reduce the power of these committees after election. For when the votes are counted, the political committees charge up debts of gratitude against each successful candidate, and these debts are obligations which must be cancelled by appointments, or by some special privileges or immunities.

Appointments sought by political bosses in payment of these debts of gratitude are those which the appointing official would not make if guided by principles of efficiency, honesty and capacity. While these debts of gratitude cannot be repudiated by an elective official without calling down anathemas upon his head, yet in many cases they are fictitious. The candidate owes his success to his own efforts and his own character, and often the support of the bosses has been a liability rather than an asset.

When I came to Madison I found that vote

solicitation by political committees had been abolished by a corrupt practices act, many years ago. Political committees can make legal disbursements for only these purposes:

1. Renting headquarters and places for meetings.
2. For stationery, postage and clerks at headquarters, and clerks can only be paid for work incident to mailing out campaign literature.
3. For printing, lithographs, badges, and banners, and the distribution of the same.
4. For advertising in the press.
5. For salary and expenses of public speakers.
6. For traveling expenses of members of party committees or personal campaign committees.

Under these limitations no poll workers can be hired, no canvasses taken and no automobiles sent out to bring in voters.

The only legal disbursements by a candidate are the following:

1. For his own personal hotel and traveling expenses and for postage, telephone and telegraph expenses.
2. For contributions to his personal campaign committee.
3. For contributions to his party committee.
4. For functions which a campaign committee might perform if the candidate has no personal or campaign committee.

All bills must be sent in to the campaign committees within ten days after the primary election or the general election.

All candidates, and the secretary of every

committee must file a sworn financial statement four days before election, and then file a second statement on the Saturday after the primary and general election, summarizing his preceding statement, and adding all subsequent receipts and disbursements.

The name of a candidate chosen at a primary election cannot be certified or printed on the official ballot unless the candidate has filed the expense account required by law.

Every person other than a candidate or a personal campaign or party committee, who shall within any twelve months make any disbursements for any political purpose, exceeding in the aggregate $50 must file within 48 hours after making any disbursements, causing the aggregate of such disbursements to reach $50, a sworn statement with the clerk of the county wherein he resides. The statement must give in full detail every item of each disbursement including the name and address of the persons to whom each was made, and the purpose for which it was made.

No candidate may make any statement or pledges as to his acts as a public official in the office for which he is a candidate, except by publication in a newspaper or other periodical, unless a copy of such pledge is filed as a public record with the county clerk, or with the secretary of state, if he is a candidate voted for by electors residing in more than one county.

One section of the Wisconsin law especially prohibits any payments of any kind to party workers on election or primary day.

All advertising in the newspapers of a political character must be marked "Paid advertisement" and these words must be printed in pica capital letters.

Any person connected with a newspaper who becomes a candidate for office, or any person who owns any financial interest in any newspaper or periodical must file a notice with the county clerk stating the exact nature and extent of his interest or control in the newspaper or periodical. All campaign literature circulated must bear upon its face the name and address of the author, and the name and address of the candidate in whose behalf it is published. No candidate is allowed to promise any appointments, or to promise any position of private employment.

No person being an employer or representing an employer may give out any printed or written matter containing any threat, notice or information that in case any particular ticket of a political party or candidate shall be elected, or any measure referred to a vote of the people shall be adopted, work in his establishment will cease, in full or in part, or his place or establishment be closed up, or the salary or wages of his workmen be reduced, or make any other threats expressed or implied, calculated to influence the political opinions or action of employes.

No disbursements can be made legally for any candidates in excess of the following amounts; for United States senator, $7,500; for congressman, $2,500; for governor, judges of the supreme court or state superintendent of schools, $5,000; for other state officers, $2,000; for state senator, $400; for member of assembly, $150; for presidential elector at large, $500; for presidential elector for a congressional district, $100.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Committee of Forty-eight.

Wisconsin took a lively interest in 1920, in the national Committee of Forty-eight movement, and the Wisconsin organization conducted an important experiment in the democratic management and control of a political organization.

The convention system, although theoretically democratic, has been proven in American political experience, to work out practically as a system of control by bosses and selfish interests. The average busy citizen will not participate in the control of his party, and in the selection of party candidates, unless such participation is made simple and easy. The system provided by the Wisconsin state organization of the Committee of Forty-eight does exactly that, and its main features were worked out by A. J. Sweet, secretary of the organization.

The constitution of the organization was designed to be suitable to an organization functioning either as a political party, or as a mere league working with or through existing political parties.

The constitution provides the basis of organization and control, briefly, as follows:

1. A national organization functioning under the leadership of an executive committee of fifteen.

2. A state organization functioning under the leadership of executive committees of nine.

3. County organizations functioning under the leadership of executive committees of five.

Organization officers, and organization candidates for public office are initially nominated by an advisory committee composed of the combined executive committees of the next lower unit of organization. For instance the state advisory committee consists of the combined county executive committees.

Thus all the geographical sections are represented on a nominating board by democratically chosen delegates. Opportunity is given for nomination by petition, after which the selection of organization officers or of organization candidates for public office, is decided by a vote by mail of the entire membership.

Votes are cast and counted in accordance with the principles of proportional representation, which insures that minority groups in the body at large, have proportionate minority representation on the executive committee.

Such choice through mail voting by the entire organization, and the feature of minority representation, insures true democracy of control.

The National, and each state or county executive committee elects a chairman, who is not necessarily a member of the committee. In the case of National or State executive committees it was planned that the chairman shall usually be a paid officer, not a member of the committee. The chairman functions as the executive officer of his committee, acting with such broad or limited powers as the committee shall confer. This feature of the organization makes for centralized responsibility and effective action. Organization platforms were to be initially drafted by the executive com-

mittee, and submitted to the membership with opportunity given to suggest alterations therein through petitions. In the event of alterations being proposed, final decision is made by a referendum mail vote of the entire membership.

Except for the matters of choice of organization officers, organization candidates for public office and organization platforms, (which matters are decided by vote of the entire membership) the executive committee is accorded broad powers in conducting the affairs of the organization. Thus effectiveness of functioning and true democracy of control are alike secured.

Members of the organization are identified as such by card issued to the applicant upon payment of one year's membership fee. The membership fee was established at $3 per year, thus providing a fund for meeting the expenses for membership records, membership voting and routine organization costs. Twenty-five per cent of the membership fee was assigned to the National organization, sixty per cent to the State organization and fifteen per cent to the county organization.

The constitution prescribes the exact routine to be followed in the manner of choice of organization officers, organization candidates for public office and organization platforms. Such exact provision was deemed necessary since otherwise, should selfishly disposed interests temporarily get control of an executive committee, the form but not the reality of membership control under referendum could be carried out, with a semblance of legality. Members of executive committees are made

jointly and severally liable for any violations of the constitution.

The organization took an advisory referendum on organization policy in July, 1920. Official ballots were sent to all members by mail, to be returned by mail before twelve o'clock noon on Wednesday, July 7th.

Four questions were submitted, as follows:

1. Shall the Committee of Forty-eight, Wisconsin State organization, promote and join in organizing a new national liberal party?

2. If the referendum on the foregoing question results against the formation of a new national liberal party, which of the present established national parties shall the Committee of Forty-eight support with respect to presidential and vice-presidential candidates?

3. If the referendum on the foregoing question results in the formation of a new national liberal party, whom do you favor for the presidential candidate of such party?

4. If the referendum on the above question results in the formation of a new national liberal party, what name do you favor as the name for the new party?

Members of the party were informed on the back of the official ballot that on July 10, 11, and 12 the national body of the Committee of Forty-eight would hold a mass convention at the Morrison hotel in Chicago and that the national executive officers had already committed themselves to the policy of the organization of a new national liberal policy.

They were told that on the above-mentioned dates three other national organizations, the American Labor party, the World War Veterans, and the Single Tax parties would be

independently holding their national conventions in Chicago, an informal understanding having been reached with the national officers of each of the above-mentioned organizations looking toward the united support of a new party.

It was said that one of three situations would probably arise:

A. A new national liberal party might be organized and supported by the organizations mentioned, and might be able to secure the acceptance of some man of national political standing as its candidate for president.

B. A new national liberal party might be organized and supported by the affiliated organizations, but might be unable to secure the acceptance of any man of national political standing as its candidate for president; in which event the nomination would have to go to some nationally known economic or educational leader, who, as a vote getter, would probably fall far short of a man of proven political leadership.

C. A new national liberal party might be organized chiefly or wholly by the Committee of Forty-eight without the support of the American Labor party, in which event the liberal forces would be split nationally, the labor party being already organized, with a membership fully as large as the Committee of Forty-eight.

On question one, 96 per cent voted yes, 4 per cent no. If situation B should arise, 79 per cent said they would vote yes. If situation C should arise, 59 per cent said they would vote yes.

On question two, 20 per cent said the Repub-

lican party, 6½ per cent the Democratic party, 67 per cent the Socialist party, and 6½ per cent the Prohibition party.

On question three, 78 per cent said La Follette, 8 per cent said Hiram W. Johnson, and 3 per cent said Herbert C. Hoover. The remaining votes were scattered.

On question four, 27 per cent said Liberal, 16 per cent American, 13 per cent Progressive, 12 per cent Peoples, 5 per cent Liberty, 5 per cent National, 4 per cent Lincoln, 3 per cent Progressive Republican, 3 per cent Independent, with the balance scattered.

I give these returns to illustrate how the method used by the Wisconsin state organization worked out successfully, showing the wishes of the organization as to important policies and the preferences of the members as to candidates. A referendum was taken to ascertain the choice of the members as to candidates for Governor and United States Senator. This referendum was taken in August, 1920.

The ballot used, besides giving instructions for voting through the mail, contained a brief statement from Mr. Blaine, Mr. Dithmar, and Mr. Thompson as to their stand on current political issues.

For instance, here was the statement made by Mr. Blaine:

"I favor, as fundamentals for state and nation, the principles set forth in the La Follette Progressive Republican platform submitted to the Republican National Convention.

"I declare myself for the application of the initiative, referendum and recall in all matters;

"For the repeal of all espionage and sedition laws and the restoration of our Constitu-

tional guarantees of free speech, free press and peaceful assembly;

"For the development of co-operative trade and industry;

"For a revision of our tax system, equalizing taxation by increasing income and inheritance taxes;

"For aid in promoting home ownership;

"For expansion of our educational system, permitting democratic equality;

"For the elimination of the speculator and profiteer in our marketing system;

"For the right of workers to organize and deal collectively, and the eight-hour day in industry.

"I am against the use of injunctions in labor disputes and opposed to involuntary arbitration.

"I favor a comprehensive program in reconstruction and I am against the forces of privilege and for the forces representing the common good.

"I favor rigid economy in public affairs and efficient public service."

Mr. Lenroot referred to his record as senator and to the campaign speeches which he was delivering, as to his platform and Messrs. Hull, Seaman, Tittemore and Wilcox, all candidates for governor, failed to make any response to the invitation to submit a statement.

A Milwaukee county executive committee was elected by a vote taken by mail. Five members were chosen from a list of eight names printed on the ballot.

Voters were instructed to mark 1 in the square opposite the name of the candidate who was their first choice, 2 in square opposite

second choice, 3 in square opposite third choice, and so on until five candidates were marked in order of preference. The votes were canvassed in accordance with the principles of proportional representation, Hare system. Under this system minority voters were assured of due representation proportional to their strength on the executive committee.

In canvassing the returns the secrecy of the ballot was secured by having the members' signatures placed on the envelope in which the ballot was mailed. The ballots were taken from the envelope and deposited, without examination, in the ballot box, at a meeting held at the Hotel Plankinton, which was open to all Milwaukee county members of the Committee of Forty-eight.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Legislative Reference Library.

"When it comes to the attainment of any reasonable legislation for the true betterment of human beings, the only way to beat the Socialists is to beat them to it". Thus wrote Dr. Charles McCarthy, the founder of Wisconsin's Legislative Reference Library, in his book The Wisconsin Idea.

Dr. McCarthy was not a Socialist yet he was generous in recognizing the great influence of Socialism in Wisconsin in promoting social, political and economic reforms. Except for his broad-mindedness in recognizing all earnest men, desirous of promoting the welfare of the state, and except for his broad-mindedness in always being willing to co-operate with them, regardless of their political affiliations, he could not have been the great leader that he was, in all the progressive movements in this state for more than twenty years.

Dr. McCarthy applied the word "radical" to progressive legislation which had been passed in Wisconsin more than ten years ago.

Dr. McCarthy believed in socialistic measures, but not in Socialism. In fact, he believed that socialistic reforms would destroy the demand for the state ownership of all capital.

He said, "The individual initiative, and the efficiency of the individual caused by the breaking up of class distinctions, the establishment of merit and ability in the place of family or title, the equitable distribution of

CHARLES McCARTHY
Founder of Legislative Reference Library

taxation, and the very equality of opportunity resulting, will lead to an individuality which will cause men to press forward in the acquisition of private property."

The Wisconsin idea, as Dr. McCarthy conceived it, was to retain the spirit of competition as the natural main-spring of progress in the individual, as well as in the state at large, and yet to restrain this competition, and keep it within certain bounds, by wise legislation.

The injustice of our existing social system, Dr. McCarthy believed was due to unequal conditions of contract. He used this illustration:

"Suppose when you went to buy food, the man who had it asked you ten dollars when it was worth only one, and putting a gun to your head made you give him the other nine dollars. Would the contracting parties be on equal footing? One of the parties added *force* to the contract to make it favorable to him. Suppose he did not make use of the gun, and yet you could not buy the food from any other man, because he had a monopoly, and you would be obliged to give him the other nine dollars. Would he not be doing the same thing, adding force to contract? The only difference is that at one time he used a gun, and the other time monopoly."

Dr. McCarthy put human rights always above property rights, declaring that prosperity must be sought for the benefit of human beings and for no other purpose.

And Dr. McCarthy saw in the increase of knowledge the safe and sure pathway to freedom from the bondage of monopoly. He said:

"Why not invest something in the farmer

and the mechanic so that he will become more efficient, so that he will have a better home, better prospects and greater skill which will be an advantage to him in contract? While we are teaching him this, why not teach him how to live so that he may be strong and vigorous; why not show him his rights under the law and advise him as to the most advantageous way in which to market his goods, whether it be his skill as a mechanic or his oats?"

Dr. McCarthy always stressed the importance of the work of the expert, and took pride in Wisconsin's position of orderliness, and in adopting scientific methods.

In adopting of present-day hostility in the minds of many to everything German, it is decidedly interesting to see to what extent Dr. McCarthy regarded the Wisconsin idea as a German idea. In one chapter in his book he says:

"Wisconsin is fundamentally a German state. * * * *

"The '48 Germans, those of the Carl Schurz type, came fresh from a struggle for liberty in the old country, and brought with them as high ideals as any people who ever came to America. Under these influences, the farms of Wisconsin were settled, and an orderly careful government established. * * * *

"It is significant that among the first regents of the university was Carl Schurz, the great hater of bad government, the enthusiastic patriotic statesman, the powerful champion of civil service."

He pays high tribute to John Bascom as one of Wisconsin's greatest university presi-

dents and says that Bascom's social philosophy was similar to that which dominated Germany.

"In Germany the scholar was recognized and respected as a leader; in the German universities the lamp of liberty was ever kept burning brightly. It was to the German scholar that Bismarck invariably turned for aid in the development of the legislation which has characterized Germany for so many years past—the legislation which built it up from a country of poor peasants to a great nation, second to none in the prosperity and happiness of its people."

He contrasts the animating spirit in Wisconsin University with that prevalent in Yale and other New England universities, where the ideas of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill prevailed, and where it was held that the state was a necessary evil, and that men do best, when left alone the most.

Dr. McCarthy lauds the influence of the early philosophy of Dr. Richard T. Ely, who, he tells us, went to Germany, studied under Carl Knies and Wagner and "there he absorbed the inspiration of the New Germany". He put it this way:

"He saw an empire being fashioned by men regarded in his own country as merely theorists; he realized that these Germans were more than mere theorists, that they studied the problem of human welfare; that they were laying the foundations for a great insurance system; that they foresaw the commercial prosperity of the country built upon the happiness, education and well-being of the human units of the empire; that order, intelligence,

care and thought could be exercised by the state. * * * *

"Richard T. Ely finally came to the University of Wisconsin as a professor of economics. Here was another singular coincidence. The pupil of Knies and Wagner, coming from Germany with his German political ideals, succeeded Bascom as a teacher of political economy in the German university of the German state of Wisconsin. A curious condition surely! He was regarded as a socialist, and before long was tried by the regents of the University of Wisconsin as a socialist. After great excitement, which is still remembered throughout the state, he was acquitted. * * * *

"Then succeeding Bascom and Ely came a long line of young men many of them of German or Scandinavian stock, who were impressed with the ideas that Ely expounded at that time. He preached a curious new doctrine, a new individualism, that men deserved the right of opportunity, and benefitted by it; that it was the duty of the state to preserve to them opportunities; that the state was a necessary good and not a necessary evil; that the great institution of private property was good, and furthermore existed for public good, that if any particular part of it did not exist for public good it should be made to do so. * * * *

"German professors have come repeatedly to Wisconsin and have been surprised by the German spirit in the university * * * * If Wisconsin is a prosperous state today there is no doubt that it is largely because of Ger-

man ideas and ideals early instituted in the state."

Dr. McCarthy was generous in his recognition of the value of the Scandinavian element in Wisconsin but declares that it was animated by the very same ideals, as those prevailing in Germany.

If one is to understand the legislative reference library of Wisconsin, one must understand the social philosophy of Dr. McCarthy, and hence these liberal quotations. And if one would understand the proud eminence of Wisconsin as a progressive state, it can in a large degree be traced to the influence of the man who founded the legislative reference library, and in a most aggressive way inculcated his own social philosophy in the minds of Wisconsin legislators.

I have been re-reading the fine tribute paid to the memory of Dr. McCarthy, at the time of his death, which occurred in April, 1921. It was written by Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick, then secretary of the State Board of Education. Dr. Fitzpatrick recounts how Dr. McCarthy deplored the nullification of progressive legislation by court decisions, how he organized and inspired the part-time school movement, and also university extension work, how he worked for the improvement of the rural schools, and for the democratization of the cooperative movement, advocating the "one man one vote" system, and how he strove for the establishment of an efficient marketing commission.

Not only Dr. Fitzpatrick, but many other progressives recognize that during the 20 years preceding his death, his was one of the

most aggressive and powerful influences in bringing about the social, educational and political reforms which have made Wisconsin such a notable state.

I find it difficult to reconcile this view of Dr. McCarthy (which I believe true) with the theory held by some that the Legislative Reference Library should be equally promotive of, and helpful to, both progressive and reactionary legislation. In a pamphlet describing the work of the reference library Dr. McCarthy says its work should be non-partisan and non-political, and entirely confidential. The model of all true liberals should be "Hear the other side". Dr. McCarthy was so broad-minded and fair-minded that notwithstanding his positive convictions on all public questions, he made the library a repository of the best that had been worked out, both for and against progressive reforms. When Emanuel L. Philipp became governor he started a movement to remove Dr. McCarthy from his position of influence by abolishing the library, and the bill to abolish it was prepared by the bill drafting department of the library, and the author of the bill was furnished all the adverse criticism and comment which the work of Dr. McCarthy and the library had called out during a long term of years.

And when bills for the establishment of a department of markets, with broad powers for making investigations, and with drastic powers to control unfair competition were before the legislature, during the administrations of Governor McGovern, Governor Philipp and Governor Blaine, both those who favored these bills, and those who opposed

them, made liberal use of the legislative reference library.

A good idea of the work which the reference library does to help members of the legislature may be obtained from a list of a few typical requests answered by the library during the 1923 session. Here they are:

Arguments and material in favor of unicameral legislature.

What is the farm mortgage indebtedness for the U. S., the state, and in Pierce county, 1922?

Find precedents that members of the legislature also may hold appointive offices on administrative boards like the state board of vocational education.

What steps must Wisconsin take in accepting the provisions of the Federal "Sheppard-Towner" law?

What are the provisions of the laws of other states compensating persons for false imprisonment and decisions thereunder?

At the opening of each session of the legislature the reference library makes it its business to inform all members by a letter sent to each that it is prepared to tell them these things:

1. What states have passed laws on any particular subject.
2. Where bills for similar laws are under discussion.
3. What bills on any subject have been recently introduced in the Wisconsin legislature.
4. Where valuable discussions of any subject may be obtained.
5. And that it will send abstracts of useful material and answer any questions relating to legislative matters.

6. And further, that the drafting department will put into bill form any measure a member desires to have passed.

Here are some of the injunctions of Dr. McCarthy to his assistants:

"We must first of all get near to the legislator, even as the lobbyist does. I do not mean that we must use the evil methods of the lobbyist, but we must win the legislator's confidence and his friendship and understand him and his prejudices. We must not be arrogant, presumptive, opinionated or dogmatic. We are dealing with men who are as a rule keen and bright, who as a rule have made a success of business life. We must always remember that we are but clerks and servants who are helping these men to gather data upon things upon which we have worked, as they have worked at their business. We must be careful to keep our private opinions to ourselves and let the evidence speak for itself. We are not doing this work to convert, but to help and to clear up."

But yet it is plain that Dr. McCarthy believed that while private interests had many agencies through which it could mould legislative opinion, the legislator interested in the welfare of the public, rather than the advancement of private interests especially needed the reference library.

Commenting on legislative hearings, he pointed out that powerful private interests were always able to marshal authorities, statistics, and the most clever arguments, and he conceived that one of the functions of the reference library was to take the side of the public by furnishing members of the legisla-

ture or others with information, authorities and statistics necessary to present the cause of the common people. So he said:

"If private forces maintain bureaus of information for their representatives, let us have public information bureaus open to private and public interests alike. If it is hard to get information because of the great variety of subjects, now coming before our legislators, the only sensible thing to do is to get experts to gather this material. If business interests have good lawyers to look after their legislation, the people should secure the same kind of men to help their representatives. If the business interests secure statisticians, engineers and scientific men, then the public should do likewise. If great judges and great lawyers are constantly working upon the problems of interpretation of laws, then surely, men of equal abilities should be consulted while those laws are being constructed."

Dr. McCarthy's interest in part-time schools for boys and girls in industry, in university extension, and in legislation relating to these subjects was born out of his own struggles to obtain an education. His boyhood home was Brockton, Massachusetts, where his father was an employe in a shoe factory, and his mother kept a boarding house. The home was not one of affluence. The boy went to sea.

In June, 1913, Brown University of Rhode Island conferred an honorary doctor's degree on Charles McCarthy. At that time the Wisconsin State Journal told the following story:

"Charles McCarthy's ship on one of its return trips to the United States entered the port of Providence, Rhode Island. This boy,

getting his land legs, strolled over the campus of Brown University. 'I must go to college' thought he. He applied for admission; he was told that he could not qualify; that he would have to equip himself with a preparatory course. 'But I don't need all that,' was his argument. 'Yet I want to know some things which you can teach me'. He was so persistent that the dean, partly amused, thought the best way to answer the boy was to let him demonstrate to himself that he was overreaching himself in his demand. So the boy was admitted but he was not permitted to take the studies which he chose. Like too many pitiably limited academic deans, he assigned the boy to prescribed courses whether he wanted them or not; he had to take mathematics whether or not he was fitted for it, and he had to take languages whether or not he wanted them, because, according to the ancient and silly code of education, culture was reached only over such avenues. The result of this experiment was disastrous as the dean predicted. The boy was discouraged and thrown out of college.

"But this boy did not propose to be licked by any dean no matter how much he might be ornamented with scholarly decorations. The boy went to work in a theater as a scene painter and scene shifter. There he worked until college opened the following fall. He then confronted that courageous educator, E. Benjamin Andrews, then the president of Brown.

"He related his experience; he insisted that he had a right to be educated, that he was capable of studying literature, philosophy, history, political science, economics and sociology; and that no university that really was a

university had the right to deny such education to a boy simply because that boy did not meet some rigid and irrelevant qualification in other branches.

"He told President Andrews what he thought a university should be, what he thought it should do and what it should represent. President Andrews was big enough, and let us add he was intelligent enough, to know that this boy was talking sound sense and that it was the trustees of his college and the dean who were ignorant. It was they who had no conception of democracy in education.

"President Andrews told this scene shifter that he would be grateful to him if he would come before his university officials and tell them what he had told him. The boy agreed to do so. And instead of going to school at Brown, Brown went to school to this boy. The young shoemaker, sailor, and scene shifter told the trustees of Brown that they could not bind the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to sixteenth and seventeenth century conceptions; he told them that the university was not only foolish but false to its mission and its trust if it chained onto the future the limitations of the past; that the university should not hang as a mill stone upon the neck of progress; that if it were good for anything under the heavens it would lend itself to advance, rather than retard mankind and that it ought to help all the people that it could help and not a selected few who might conform to some ridiculous chalk line it had drawn.

"Brown was fulfilling Lowell's declaration that:

'* * * * the weak by some dark law,
Have a strange power to shut and rivet down
Our heaven-aspiring visions, and to blur
With surly clouds the Future's gleaming peaks,
Far seen across the brink of thankless years.'

"The officers of Brown University were unable to match the arguments of this mere Irish boy who understood democracy better than they; they allowed him to enter and take what he would and could. But even then they were not big enough to change a rule. They were only big enough to make an exception.

"Four years later, still unable to meet his consistent logic, for the first time and the only time in its history, Brown university graduated a student who had declined to take languages and mathematics. Brown University gave a Bachelor's degree to Charlie McCarthy. They did it with misgiving and with reservations; they were unable to cope with his reasoning, but with all this they were in doubt as to his culture, because, however much he might know the poets and the philosophers, however much he might love the word liberty, and however deeply he might analyze democracy, he was unable to conjugate a list of irregular verbs or to work out the answer to a classified conundrum in the theory of probabilities."

This story well illustrates the force, the tact and the persistence which Dr. McCarthy knew how to use to bring men around to his

point of view. A young man who could induce college authorities to suspend their rules, and admit a student who did not have the standardized qualifications, and then induce these authorities to give him a degree, without his having pursued the standardized courses, was indeed a marvelous diplomat.

That Brown university afterwards gave Charles McCarthy a doctor's degree, showed appreciation of the truth that culture, high scholarship, and true education do not depend on classicism, nor on a technical training. Dr. McCarthy through all his life was in contact with great books, and their stimulating influence made him a man of true culture.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Women's Progressive Association.

Men hold the reins of government in Wisconsin, but the women tell them which way to drive. And they tell them principally through the Woman's Progressive Association, an organization true to its name. Its mission is to keep the progressive movement progressing. It might take for its motto Browning's lines:

"Man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?"

The Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association was organized January 3, 1921, a few months after the federal amendment enfranchising women was ratified. A glance at the names appearing on its stationery is proof that the organization is fearlessly and aggressively progressive. Miss Ada L. James, of Richland Center, a militant suffrage worker in the past is president, Mrs. Granville Trace, Dodgeville, vice-president, Mrs. Harold Proctor, Viroqua, secretary-treasurer. The other officers and committee members are Mrs. Robert M. La Follette, Mrs. John J. Blaine, Mrs. Charles D. Rosa, Zona Gale, Irma Hochstein, Humitt E. Grimm, Anita Koenen, Dr. Jean M. Cooke, Dr. Elizabeth Woods, Mrs. Glenn P. Turner, the wives of Congressmen Nelson and Beck, Mrs. G. A. Widell of Superior, Mrs. Margaret Patzer and Mrs. John O'Rourke of Milwaukee, Mrs. Floyd Green, Mrs. W. Z. Mendelson, Mrs. Allen Roberts, Mrs. Edward Schmitz, and Mrs. E. J. Brabant.

MISS ADA L. JAMES

During the campaign of 1922 the women speaking for the progressive ticket stressed the plank which declared for "definite political action looking to the outlawry of war" and saying "We condemn the present excessive expenditure for military and naval purposes as being an encouragement to imperialism, grossly wasteful of public funds, and provocative of war."

Although the legislature convened early in January, the Progressives had taken no action against militarism prior to January 20, when the Progressive Association held its convention. Senator Hirsch, a socialist from Milwaukee, introduced a bill looking to the abolition of the National Guard in the state and the women voted to endorse and work for it. This bill was killed, but a similar one introduced in the assembly by Mr. Polakowski, also a Milwaukee socialist, passed by a vote of 62 to 17. At the hearing on the bill the women were out in full force, full of fight and bursting with indignation over facts which they had dug up regarding the enormous cost of the guard. Mrs. Charles D. Rosa pointed out how, under the national defense act, the guard became available for employment not only anywhere in the United States, but available to be sent to war against foreign countries. Mrs. E. C. Hoebel, president of the Madison branch of the Wisconsin Women's Progressive Association, and Mrs. Allen Roberts of Milwaukee put their best energies into the fight to abolish militarism in Wisconsin. The women declared that Wisconsin was spending four times as much for the national guard as it did in 1913, and nearly as much as was spent for four important state departments com-

bined, the Board of Health, the Industrial Commission, the Marketing Commission and the Dairy and Food Commission.

In addition to $690,000 of state money, the federal government paid $850,000 for the support of the guard in the fiscal year 1921-1922, making a grand total of $1,540,000. It was found that the State Board of Public Affairs, of which Governor Blaine is a member, had asked for an appropriation of $600,000 a year for the years 1923-1924, and 1924-1925, and the board recommended this enormous appropriation in addition to the amount received from the federal government.

In a message to the legislature on the Polakowski bill, Governor Blaine said the cost of the national guard to the state was $679,000 in 1921, and $574,000 in 1922. He gave the amount of the appropriation for 1922 as $600,000.

Few states were spending more for militarism than Wisconsin, annual appropriations in some other states running as follows: Indiana $200,000; Iowa, $265,000; Michigan, $250,000; Minnesota, $239,000; Missouri, $150,000. And all this in spite of the fact that the platform on which Governor Blaine had been elected declared "We condemn the present expenditures for military and naval purposes as being an encouragement to imperialism, grossly wasteful of public funds, and provocative of war.

The women were bitterly criticized by some for working for "a Socialist measure". Their reply was that they were working to redeem a progressive campaign pledge, and that party lines never prevented Senator La Follette from being a true progressive. The women

deeply regretted the failure of some progressive leaders to live up to their campaign pledges, and the fact that the bill carrying out those pledges was introduced by a socialist, and supported by the socialist members made no difference whatever to them.

Governor Blaine sent a special message to the legislature opposing the Polakowski bill. The women smiled at the first paragraph of the message which indicated how quickly they had secured the passage of the Polakowski measure. It said:

"Due to the unexpectedly early action of the assembly on the bill for the abolishment of the national guard, I was unable to convey to the legislature at that time information respecting the subject under consideration."

The women regarded Governor Blaine's message as virtually an argument against the anti-militarism plank of the platform on which he was elected. He said to abolish the national guard would not retard war, and that to outlaw war, a long list of causes, which he enumerated, must be removed, and large standing armies was not on the list. He said that the members of the guard were very fine young men, sound physically and morally, which nobody had questioned, and which had nothing to do with the case, and he declared that the national guard was an antidote to militarism, and to abolish it would give an encouragement to those who want a large standing army.

When the hearing on the Polakowski bill took place, it was stated that Senator La Follette was opposed to the bill, whereupon Miss James quoted the Senator as saying in his autobiography that Mrs. La Follette was the

brainiest member of the family. She then announced that she had received the following message from Mrs. La Follette:

"I have not had opportunity to examine the provisions of the measure passed by the Wisconsin assembly regarding the state militia, but I am heartily in sympathy with its purpose. The re-organization act of 1920 makes the national guard a component part of the United States army, available for employment by the government in the time of emergency anywhere in the United States, or elsewhere. If the states may lawfully decline to be parties to this plank, they have the power to strike a body blow at the militarism and imperialism under which the world is now staggering. Such action on the part of the state will afford the foremost practical example of the people's determination to renounce war as a means of settling differences. The need of such example is urgent. I hope Wisconsin succeeds in blazing the way."

Zona Gale sent a letter to the committee in which she said:

"I am alive to the objections which may be brought at doing away with any form of militarism, all the way from a national guard to a huge standing army, and then on from there to a World War. Always there are situations which make any form of military machinery and operation seem temporarily reasonable. I concede that the abolition of its national guard by any state might lend argument to the men at Washington who urge a great standing army. But I know something better than that. I know that more powerful than those men will be the spiritual effect upon the nation when one of the states lays down her

arms. That act will give to the outlawing of war such an impetus as in the United States this cause has never had, save only its impetus now in the hearts of the people. For the people are sick unto death of militarism and all its manifestations. If ever we needed an act from somebody it is now.

"If before we outlaw war we wait until the trade and territorial and other causes of war are settled, we shall wait until ruin has overtaken the world. For war itself breeds new causes of war—have we ever had better proof of that than in Europe today? We are concerned with just one thing: To do away with war as a conceivable method of ever dealing with our trade or territorial or any other difficulties. To this end we must cause war to cease to be respectable. We must brand it as what it is: Crime. But the expensive upkeep by a state of a group of its citizens dedicated to function through physical force tends to stamp physical force with state approval, tends to create war psychology. And it is by tendencies that a people moves.

"When any body politic in all the world will say quietly through its lawmakers: 'We are done with every form of militarism in our state', I am persuaded that this will not be the shot, but the voice, heard and echoed around the world."

The final outcome of the anti-militarism crusade was the reduction of the appropriation for the national guard to $255,000 per year.

One of the other important achievements of the last session of the legislature was the passage of a bill abolishing compulsory military training at the University of Wisconsin, and

the Woman's Progressive Association and the Madison branch of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom were the principal supporters of this measure. Miss James in her annual address as president of the Progressive Association called attention to the extravagant appropriation for the National Guard, and declared it was "the first duty of the legislature to slash these figures". And as to compulsory military training, she said, "One of the first duties of Wisconsin progressives is to see that this Prussian system is no longer tolerated in our university".

Preceding the legislative session of 1923, the legislative committee of the Woman's Progressive Association held a series of important conferences, aimed to answer the question "What does progressive Wisconsin need in new legislation?" Local committees had been asked to send in suggestions in answer to this question.

At a conference on marketing, William Kirsch of the state Department of Markets led the discussion. He showed that the price of farm products is intimately connected with the wages of the consumers of those products. Whatever tends to keep up the steady buying power of the consumer, helps to keep up the prices of farm products. And city people are dependent upon the purchasing power of the farmer. Speculation, monopoly, waste and inefficiency are injurious to both producers and consumers.

The Hanson bill giving cities the power to establish systems of milk distribution was discussed, and so were co-operative enterprises in general.

At another conference Miss Irma Hochstein led a discussion on the initiative and referendum. She said the standard form of the proposed Wisconsin amendment is recognized by students of government throughout the country as being free from many of the faults urged against the initiative and referendum in other states. Under it, for example, no bill can be initiated and referred immediately to the people in a crude state. An initiated bill must first be introduced in the legislature, assigned to the proper committee and given a public hearing. If it fails to pass, then it can be revived by petition and sent to a popular referendum.

The most important feature of the Wisconsin amendment is its provision for easier amendment of the constitution. The constitution now provides that an amendment has to pass two sessions of the legislature before it can go to the people to be ratified or defeated. Under the Wisconsin bill an amendment adopted by a single session of the legislature can go to the people at the next general election, if five per cent of those voting for governor at the last election sign a petition to have it referred immediately.

Legislators often come to Madison with the idea of putting in what they call a "simple" initiative and referendum bill. They claim that the proposed measure, such as was introduced by Senator Huber and passed in 1923, is too complicated. After studying the evils which the Huber bill seeks to avoid, it is plain that it is better to have a law which seems complicated to *read,* but is really simple and safe to *operate,* than to have one which is

simple and safe to read, but complicated and dangerous to operate.

A third conference was devoted to education. Dr. E. A. Fitzpatrick led the discussion, followed by Professor V. A. C. Henmon, chairman of the school of education of the university; William Kittle, secretary of the state Board of Normal School Regents; C. J. Anderson, Assistant state Superintendent of Schools; Mr. Johnson, principal of the Richland county training school; Mrs. Procter, a representative of the Woman's Progressive Association of Viroqua; Miss Mary Comings; George P. Hambrecht, state director of vocational education; Mrs. Glenn P. Turner; and Lieutenant-governor George F. Comings.

At a fourth conference Mrs. William Kittle, chairman of the state legislative committee of the Consumers' League presented the legislative program of that organization which was endorsed. Mrs. Kittle emphasized the need for bringing 1,500 women hotel employes under the provisions of the law, regulating the hours of labor of women in various industries. She asked, why should girls work 49 hours a week in one hotel in a certain job and in another hotel on precisely the same type of work sixty or seventy hours a week.

Among other things the committee endorsed Senator Huber's unemployment prevention bill, Farmer-labor representation on all educational boards, an increase of income taxes on the higher incomes, and a corresponding decrease of property taxes, the removal of the personal property offset to income taxes, and the encouragement of farm ownership by actual farmers through the

levying of a surtax on land values held by one individual in excess of a reasonable amount.

Here is a list of some of the more important progressive measures enacted by the 1923 legislature, for which the Woman's Progressive Association is entitled to great credit, a radical reduction of the appropriation for the national guard, the abolition of compulsory military training at the university, reduced hours of labor for women employes, placing women hotel employes under the regulation of the industrial commission, farmer-labor representation on the university board of regents, a constitutional amendment resolution for the initiative and referendum, and publicity for income tax returns.

Miss Gena Thompson, when executive secretary of the association conceived the idea of issuing a progressive primer, and Miss Irma Hochstein, assisted by Mrs. Glenn P. Turner, carried out the plan. This little book aims to give an understanding of what has been accomplished in the progressive movement, and to show women how they can use their new power in politics. It points out the interdependence between the business of politics and the business of getting a living. Organizations are dependent upon an inspiring leadership. The Woman's Progressive Association has found such in Miss Ada James, Mrs. Robert M. La Follette and Miss Zona Gale. A loyalty to these leaders has made the Woman's Progressive Association a tremendous power in Wisconsin.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Taxing Unearned Incomes.

If wealth were a measure of worth, that is, of worth of character, then our wealthiest men would be paragons of virtue, and those as poor as Jesus and Socrates would be the most wicked and depraved. But the fact is society has parasites, who toil not, neither do they spin, and through monopoly they make others work for them and take for their own use the fruits of unrequited toil.

John Moody understood this when he said:

"An experience of over 29 years in Wall street, where the whole atmosphere is charged with speculation has taught me to do a little thinking now and then. And I know what I am talking about when I say that nearly everything in Wall street of a really speculative nature is capitalized land value. I have for years seen this land value grow, in the shape of stocks and bonds, until today we have about 80 billion dollars worth of corporate stock in this country, of which more than half (the speculative half) is based on land values purely".

In no state is there a clearer or more widespread appreciation of this fact than in Wisconsin. Persistent educational work extended over a long term of years made it possible at the last session of the legislature to get a favorable committee report on Mr. Grimstad's bill, providing for a surtax on land values, and to get nearly half of the members of the assembly to vote in favor of this bill, and besides to pass through both houses of the legislature Senator Johnson's bill providing for a

$500 exemption from taxation of homestead improvements. The Johnson bill received the governor's signature, and is now in force.

Dr. John R. Commons was the author of the Grimstad bill, and for a long time has been an advocate of the taxation of unearned incomes. In his work on the distribution of wealth he said, many years ago:

"If the size of fortunes is taken into account, it will be found that perhaps 95 per cent of the total values represented by millionaire fortunes is due to those investments classed as land values and natural monopolies, and to competitive industries aided by such monopolies."

One of the most tactful and efficient organizations pointing out the evils that flow from taxing industry, and from not properly taxing unearned incomes or the profits that flow from monopoly, has been the Manufacturers and Merchants' Federal Tax League, with headquarters at Chicago, and whose president is Otto Cullman, and whose research assistant and publicity man is Emil O. Jorgensen. This organization obtained in Wisconsin the signatures of nearly 20,000 merchants and manufacturers who endorsed the principles of the bill introduced in congress by representative Oscar E. Keller of Minnesota, providing for a surtax on land values in excess of ten thousand dollars. The Grimstad bill in its principal features, and in its fundamental principle was identical with the Keller bill.

The Keller bill amends the income tax law so as to distinguish between earned and unearned incomes. The tax on unearned incomes, together with the super-taxes is retained, but the tax on earned incomes is cut

in two. All salaries, wages, etc., together with all profits derived from businesses personally conducted or in partnership are classed as earned incomes.

The bill provides, also, for a federal tax of one per cent on the privilege of holding land and natural resources worth over $10,000, after deducting the value of all buildings, personal property and improvements. In the case of farms, the cost of clearing, draining, plowing and cultivation, together with soil fertility are classed as improvement values. The bill will exempt over 98 per cent of all actual farms. It also exempts standing timber from taxation, whether naturally or artifically grown.

The bill will relieve business industries and agriculture by taxing monopoly holders of vacant natural resources, and valuable sites in cities.

One companion bill of Congressman Keller repeals all existing sales and commodity taxes except those on tobacco, distilled spirits, oleomargarine, habit-forming drugs and products of child labor. It also repeals the present tax on the incomes of corporations.

Another bill amends the inheritance tax. Beginning with estates of $20,000 to $35,000 there is provided a tax of one per cent; $35,000 to $50,000, two per cent; $50,000 to $150,000, four per cent; $150,000 to $250,000 six per cent; and so on until the point of $1,000,000 is reached after which the tax is 50 per cent of the excess to that amount, or about 38 per cent of the entire estate.

Besides the merchants and manufacturers in Wisconsin who are supporting the Keller

program are Edward Nordman, state commissioner of markets, and John Harrington of the state tax commission.

Mr. Nordman was one of the speakers at the Tax Relief Conference recently held by the Federal Tax League in Chicago. His address showed the futility of some of the current plans for making the farmer more prosperous and demonstrated how a tax on unearned incomes will put agriculture on its feet.

Mr. Nordman discussed the lack of credit facilities for the farmers, better markets for farm products, the theory of decreased farm production, the theory of increased farm production, the profits of middlemen, and the policy of price-fixing.

He said when the business of farming is placed on a paying basis, farmers will undoubtedly be able to get credit as easily as any other class of producers.

Without trying to minimize the importance of foreign markets, he contended that increased foreign trade would not solve the farm problem so long as the purchasing power of the country is not equal to its producing power.

As to limiting or restricting farm production as advocated by some, he declared that the world is not suffering now, nor has it ever suffered from an over-supply of wealth. What has really been the trouble has been underconsumption and failing to distribute wealth fairly and justly among those who produce it.

Nor could Mr. Nordman see any cure for the farmer's economic ills through greater efficiency, and the raising of *more* farm prod-

ucts. Those who argue that greater efficiency will cheapen production, and that more economical production will yield profits at lower prices to the farmer, should see that this will not help the rank and file of farmers, because it will be impossible for all farmers to be in the lead, no matter how proficient they may become. In fact more production of food stuffs, with no corresponding increase in market demands, will be a detriment to agriculture rather than a benefit since it will cause a surplus to pile up that will depress prices.

Nor could Mr. Nordman see that the middle men are mainly responsible for the farmer's troubles, as some contend. While not denying that our present method of distribution of farm products is wasteful, and needs to be improved, yet neither co-operative selling nor co-operative buying, he contended, would touch the fundamental evil which afflicts the farmers.

And then Mr. Nordman discussed price-fixing, and charactertized it as only another of those panaceas advanced by people who know there is something wrong with agriculture, and with conditions generally, but they do not know what that wrong is.

Then he showed that the one thing the farmer needs above all others is prosperous customers, with the means to purchase that which the farmer has to sell, and to pay a fair price for it. Nine-tenths of the city's customers upon whom the farmer depends for a possible outlet for his produce are those who work for wages and salaries. When they have full time employment and fair wages, the farmer has a good market for all he can produce.

The accessibility of land and other natural resources is the fundamental thing needed by both the farmer and the wage worker. High prices for good agricultural land has compelled many farmers to settle on land whose quality barely affords them the possibility of eeking out an existence. It is self-evident that such farmers are not in a position to make a good demand for the products of industry. So this curtails industrial production, and tends to produce unemployment. Everybody in modern society produces primarily for exchange. So progress and prosperity depend upon each producing group being in a position to buy back the equivalent of that which it produces, otherwise no exchange on equal terms is possible, and the result is a surplus of products which causes industrial depression.

Another way in which the purchasing power of the farmers' principal customers is reduced is through those taxes that are added to the price of goods that go into the market. Indirect taxes reduce the power of consumer far more than would a direct tax of equal proportions. The direct tax involves a smaller cost of collection and fewer profits that are added to the tax.

Besides the low purchasing power of the consumer, another thing which holds the farmer down is the large investment and high interest due to inflated land values, together with the high prices of machinery, and high taxes. Probably not more than one-tenth of the agricultural land in America really has any economic value. That is, it will not yield an income to its user over and above the cur-

rent rates of labor and capital expenditures.

So here are the farmers' principal handicaps, the curtailed purchasing power of his customers resulting from lack of opportunity and indirect taxation on consumption; large overhead expenses caused principally by inflated land values and indirect taxation of the materials needed in farm production, and high taxes that are out of proportion to the farmer's ability to pay.

One of the requirements of natural law is that what nature has produced must be administered for the common good. And the products of labor belong to the producers thereof. We are constantly permitting private individuals to get possession of our natural resources for exploitation purposes, and the government is likewise exploiting private individuals for public purposes. When we, as a nation, become wise enough, to take socially produced wealth, such as franchise values, and land values for public use, and permit privately produced wealth to be retained by those who produce it, we will rescue our natural resources from the control of monopoly, and at the same time will open up opportunity and usher in the kind of prosperity that will put every one at work at remunerative employment. We must untax industries and make unearned incomes which consist principally of unearned increment bear the burden of public expenditures.

We move in the right direction, when as to local taxation, we do what is being done in Pittsburgh, where personal property and improvements are exempted from taxation bit by bit, leaving a correspondingly increased tax on land values. We are moving in the

right direction in legislation by the Grimstad bill of Wisconsin and the Keller bill in congress. It is a wrong notion entertained by many farmers that cheaper lands will cause an increase in the number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits, and thus aggravate the evils of an over-supply of farm products. If we make available to our farmers the best agricultural land, if we give them the advantages of close settlement and more intensive cultivation, if we give them a reduction of taxes, we will increase the farmer's demand for manufactured commodities so that the labor problem will not be one of finding opportunity for employment, but rather of finding labor enough to produce the things for which these farmers would create a demand. On the other hand, if these same obstructions to industry and enterprise were removed from our urban industry, there would be a steady and profitable demand for the farmer's produce, which would absorb all that he is able to turn out.

I have recounted thus at some length Mr. Nordman's philosophy because it explains why there is less prejudice in Wisconsin of the farmers toward the working class, than in most other states. Mr. Nordman has been a great factor in reducing this prejudice by taking advantage of every opportunity afforded by his position as commissioner of markets to point out the true relation between farmer and wage worker.

Another advocate of sound principles of taxation who has had influence in Wisconsin is John Harrington. He has circulated a pamphlet entitled "A Tax that is not a Burden," in which he points out that the value of

land is created by the public and not by the owner, that the value of all other things besides land is created by human labor, that the ground rent paid to private land holders is a burden on society, for which no economic return is made, and is therefore an economic waste.

In his pamphlet, Mr. Harrington says:

"It seems quite clear that the taxation of personal property should be immediately discontinued, and a small exemption of building and improvements should be provided as a beginning. In the 1921 session of the Wisconsin legislature a bill was proposed providing in substance that buildings and improvements upon every homestead should be exempt from taxation, to the extent of not to exceed $2,000 of their value. Such a provision as this would be but a short step. It would probably exempt less than ten per cent of the property at present taxable in the state. But it would be a reform that would be widely felt, as it would benefit every home owner, and would be of the greatest relative benefit of the small farmers in the country, and the small home-owning workmen and business men in the cities, and so would encourage home-owning instead of tenancy."

Mr. Harrington was himself the author of the exemption bill introduced in the legislative session of 1921, mentioned in the above paragraph, and he was of great assistance in advocating the passage of the bills providing for a $1500 exemption on homestead improvements which came before the legislature of 1923. One was pushed in the upper house by Senator O. H. Johnson, and another in the assembly by Assemblyman W. F. Miller. The

Johnson bill was amended by reducing the amount of the exemption to $500, before its final passage—a great disappointment to all the friends of tax reform. But in the words of Charles McCarthy, "We are now doing something where nothing was done before", and have passed a tax reform measure founded upon a sound, economic principle.

Mr. Harrington contributed to the passage of the Johnson bill by working out several tables showing how a $1500 exemption of homestead improvements would operate as a tax-shifting measure.

In making out these tables, Mr. Harrington assumed the average tax rate of the state to be two per cent; that the proposed exemption would remove ten per cent of the valuation of property from the state tax roll; and that, therefore, the remaining property would necessarily bear an increased tax rate of ten per cent.

The bill therefore, he showed, secured a sliding scale of benefits, aiding the poorer homestead owners the most; and adding a sliding scale of increase to the wealthier home owners.

It will be noted from the first table that a homestead owners with a place valued at $2,500 would have his taxes reduced to the amount of $28. The owner of a homestead valued at $16,500 would neither gain nor lose by the $1,500 exemption. What he would gain from the exemption would be exactly equivalent to the ten per cent increase in tax rate caused by the removal of ten per cent of the valuation of the total property on the roll. And owners of property valued at more than $16,500 would find their taxes increased.

Following is the table:

Value of Homestead	Present tax	Gain from exemption	Tax on Excess	10% Increase	Actual tax	Gain
$ 2,500	$ 50	$30	$ 20	$ 2	$ 22	$ 28
3,500	70	30	40	4	44	26
4,500	90	30	60	6	66	24
5,500	110	30	80	8	88	22
7,500	150	30	120	12	132	18
9,500	190	30	160	16	176	14
12,500	250	30	220	22	242	8
15,500	310	30	280	28	308	2
16,500	330	30	300	30	330	0
17,500	350	30	320	32	352	2—
18,500	370	30	340	34	374	4—
21,500	430	30	400	40	440	10—
25,500	510	30	480	48	528	18—
31,500	630	30	600	60	660	30—
101,500	2030	30	2000	200	2200	170—

Another table showed how the law would operate in various cases where the total value of improvements was less than $1,500.

Land	Impro.	Present tax	Gain from Exemption	Tax on Excess	10% Increase	Actual Tax	Gain
$1000	$ 500	$ 30	$10	$ 20	$ 2	$ 22	$ 8
500	1000	30	20	10	1	11	19
500	500	20	10	10	1	11	9
5000	500	110	10	100	10	110	0
6000	1000	140	20	120	12	132	8
6000	500	130	10	120	12	132	2
800	800	32	16	16	1.60	17.60	11.40

The passage of the Grimstad bill was urged upon the legislature in fulfillment of the plank

of the Farmer-labor platform, calling for taxation to force idle lands into use, and the passage of the Johnson bill was urged in fulfillment of the plank which specifically demanded a $1,500 exemption on homestead improvements.

Land speculators are always active in representing such measures as the Grimstad bill and the Johnson bill as detrimental to farm interests. But a majority of the members in the 1923 legislature were farmers, Mr. Grimstad is a farmer, and Mr. Miller, who introduced the homestead exemption bill in the assembly is a farmer.

Mr. Harrington says that the $500 exemption bill will prove valuable in its educational effects, especially to farmers who have been led for years through insidious propaganda to consider a shifting of taxation from improvements to ground rent as a direct and dangerous attack upon their property, whereas no classes would benefit so much as farmers, workmen and small business men by such exemption.

Mr. Harrington says:

"If the owners of the vast city value, of mines of coal, iron and copper, of oil wells and timber and water powers can succeed at drafting the farmers to save their monopolies, their royalties, their tolls, and their ground rents; and if at the same time they can keep the farmers and the workmen, the merchants and manufacturers sweating under the burdens of present taxation, it will be a piece of magic to excite our wonder and admiration".

CHAPTER XXV.

The Young Men's Progressive Association.

The spirit of the Young Men's Progressive Association of Wisconsin is well expressed in the following bulletin which it recently issued calling on students of the university to become affiliated with the organization:

"To the ideals and aspirations of which this country was born, WE STAND TRUE.

"A CALL TO ACTION.

"The Progressive Association is essentially a movement of youth. The young La Follette pitting his youth against the great political organization of the old line Republicans began it in this state. It has ever been carried forward by young men. And now, in a few years, the responsibility will have slipped from the shoulders who now bear it, and will rest upon us—we who are the youth of today. It will be up to us to preserve the progressive movement in its integrity for the generation that is to follow us.

"Do not mistake. The progressive movement has never in recent years, been in greater danger than at the present time. For the danger today is from within, and not from without. Your help is needed. Your moral support, your active interest is necessary.

"At a meeting in the state capitol a few months ago the Young Men's Progressive Association was born. It is now in its infancy, but growing, reaching toward light and strength.

"We of the Young Men's movement are trying to fit ourselves through organization and study for the task that will be ours ere

long. Will you not join us and fit yourself too for the part that you will play in the drama of the future?''

Here, indeed, is a fine appreciation of the best conception of politics. Twenty years from today the student group organized as the Young Men's Progressive Association will each of them look back to the associations and friendships formed through this organization and count them as among the most precious memories of college days.

The Young Men's Progressive Association holds it meetings at the office of the secretary of state at the capitol, and Lancelot A. Gordon, the assistant secretary of state has been a mentor and guide to the organization. It aims to promote the establishment of similar organizations in various colleges throughout the state.

The officers of the organization are:

Max N. Cizon of Milwaukee, a junior at the University of Wisconsin, president.

August Scherr of Milwaukee, a senior at the university, first vice-president.

Ralph Axley of Green Bay, a law student and collegiate debater at the university, second vice-president.

William Blake, junior, of Fox Lake, a sophomore at the university, secretary.

Harold G. Siljan, of Madison, a junior at the university, treasurer.

State officers, heads of various state departments, and other advocates of progressive principles address the association from time to time on various public questions, and these addresses are followed by interesting informal discussions.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Wisconsin First.

Wisconsin was one of the states which had a system for the direct choice by the people of United States senators, before the adoption of the sixteenth amendment. It was the first state to provide for the nomination at a primary of candidates for the United States senate. In 1911 it supplemented this law by adopting the Oregon plan of pledging all candidates for the legislature to vote for the people's choice for senator.

In 1911 Wisconsin made provisions for a presidential preference primary modeled after the Oregon law. In 1911 Wisconsin passed a law providing for a second choice in primaries, but it was repealed in 1915. Washington had such a law as early as 1909, and a number of other states passed such laws in the same year, as did Wisconsin or soon afterwards.

A law providing for a state election pamphlet for distribution before general elections was passed in 1911, but this was repealed in 1915. Oregon had such a state election pamphlet before Wisconsin, and still retains this feature of its election laws.

While Wisconsin was the first state to adopt the woman suffrage amendment, it was preceded by a number of states in granting state and local suffrage to women. Wisconsin, however, is the only state which has removed all discriminations in law against women.

Wisconsin does not have the initiative and referendum, which is to be found in 20 states. A concurrent resolution providing for the initiative and referendum, and which was re-

jected by the voters in 1914, introduced a new type of initiative, in providing that no initiative measure should be voted on by the people unless first submitted to the legislature. As recounted in the chapter on public ownership, a resolution for the initiative and referendum passed the legislature of 1923, will come before the legislature again in 1925 and be voted for in 1926 by the people.

The idea that the state should maintain a nonpartisan department to supply information upon legislative questions, and to give expert assistance in bill drafting to members of the legislature, originated with Dr. Charles McCarthy, and was first carried out in Wisconsin in 1901. This idea has since been copied by more than one-half the states in the union, and to some extent also by the federal government.

Anti-pass legislation did not originate in Wisconsin, but this state was among the first to have a fully effective anti-pass law. Wisconsin was the second state to require lobbyists (legislative agents or counsel) to register and file statements of their fees and expenses. It was the first state to require lobbyists to confine their effort to influence members of the legislature, to appearances before committees.

Wisconsin was the third state that passed civil service laws, being preceded by New York and Massachusetts. The Wisconsin law, however, was more complete and comprehensive, applying to legislative as well as departmental employes.

Wisconsin passed the first compulsory part-time school law in 1911, as recounted in another chapter. Practically all other states have since enacted continuation school laws,

and the federal government now gives financial support to these schools. Wisconsin is still the leader in this respect, requiring a longer attendance than any other state, and providing a system of administration which gives representation to both employers and employes.

The first university extension courses, on the English model were organized in 1892 at both Chicago and Wisconsin universities. Not until Wisconsin, in 1906, organized an extension division at its state university, did university extension work meet with much popularity. Most state universities have now followed Wisconsin's example, but this state is still a leader in this field with over 25,000 students, as recounted in another chapter.

Wisconsin organized an agricultural college in connection with its state university, several years before the federal government inaugurated the policy of land grants for agricultural colleges. It was also one of the first states to organize an agricultural experiment station. It established the first short course in agriculture, and the first dairy school. It was also the first state to organize agricultural high schools.

Agitation for an income tax began in Wisconsin in 1903, and a constitutional amendment permitting such a tax was adopted in 1908. In 1911 an income tax law passed the legislature. At that time five states had income tax laws, Massachusetts, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Oklahoma. They were survivals of the "faculty taxes" of the colonial period. In all these states except Virginia, the income tax laws yielded little revenue. Wisconsin

was the first state to make the income tax a practical working measure and a source of great revenue. The Wisconsin law and the administrative machinery which it provided at once became a model for the other states.

At the present time eleven states besides Wisconsin have income tax laws, Delaware, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Virginia. With one or two exceptions, the laws of all these states follow the Wisconsin model, especially in its plan of centralized administration. The model personal income tax law of the National Tax Association was developed from the Wisconsin law.

When Wisconsin enacted its progressive inheritance tax law in 1903, fifteen or more states already had inheritance tax laws. The Wisconsin act, however, was the first to apply different exemptions and different rates for each of five classes of heirs. This is now a usual feature of inheritance tax legislation.

Wisconsin's *ad valorem* railroad tax law of 1923 was not the first of its kind. Most authorities, however, agree that the Wisconsin law and the methods of arriving at the value of railroad property which have been worked out under it are the best examples of the *ad valorem* method of taxing railroad property. Most states do not have *ad valorem* taxation of railroads and other public utilities, and there are many authorities who are opposed to this plan. In Wisconsin, however, the methods of taxation worked out under the law of 1903, and which have also been applied to other public utilities have been generally regarded

as equitable, and public utility taxation has ceased to be an issue here.

Wisconsin and Pennsylvania were the first states in which the tuberculin test was used in 1892. Not until 1901, however, did Wisconsin pass any legislation to promote the eradication of bovine tuberculosis. In 1911 Wisconsin passed a law making the tuberculin test compulsory before any cattle could be sold except for immediate slaughter. This law was repealed after a short trial, and for some years thereafter Wisconsin lagged behind other states. In recent years, however, Wisconsin has become a leader in this field. It is accredited with being the first state to develop the accredited herd and area testing plan, which are now recognized to be the most effective methods of fighting bovine tuberculosis. Both of these plans have been tried in other states, but were not regarded as generally applicable until Wisconsin used them successfully. The legislature of 1923 made a liberal appropriation for the continuation of eradication work.

Wisconsin was one of the first states to enact legislation for the protection of the dairy interests. This was in 1889. Not until 1905, however, did the state appropriate enough money for this work, to enforce this legislation. Within a comparatively few years thereafter, however, imitation products which were ruining the reputation of Wisconsin as a dairy state were driven from the markets, and Wisconsin butter and cheese commanded a premium. Wisconsin was again a leader in this field when in 1921 it enacted the first law absolutely prohibiting the manufacture and sale of filled milk.

Wisconsin has been credited with being the second state to enact an adequate law dealing with the tuberculosis problem on a state-wide basis. This was in 1905.

Wisconsin enacted a pure food law in 1897, by which date New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio already had such legislation. Due to an inefficient appropriation, the Wisconsin law was not well enforced during the first years that it was in operation, but in 1910 and thereafter, conditions improved, and Wisconsin is now considered one of the foremost states in enforcing pure food laws.

Our Industrial Commission act of 1911 was the first law in the United States which centralized the administration of all labor laws in a single department. This plan of the administration of labor laws has been copied by more than one-half of the states of the union, among them New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, California and Washington.

Safety laws and factory inspection did not originate in Wisconsin. Wisconsin was the first state, however, to adopt the modern type of safety legislation, when it passed the Industrial Commission Act in 1911. Prior to the passage of this act, Wisconsin, like every other state, prescribed in detail in legislative acts how each kind of machine must be guarded. These regulations proved burdensome because members of the legislature were not safety experts and because the statutory requirements could not be modified to meet special conditions. In 1911 Wisconsin repealed most of its detailed safety laws and in lieu thereof provided that all employers must

furnish a safe place of employment. It also made it the duty of the Industrial Commission to determine, after investigation and hearings, what is a safe place of employment, with provision for an appeal to the courts to prevent unreasonable regulations. This method of safety legislation has been copied since 1911 in nearly all industrial states, among them New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts (in part), Ohio, California, Oregon and Washington.

Wisconsin has been a pioneer among the states of the union in the advisory committee plan of labor law administration. In the Industrial Commission Act of 1911, provision is made that the commission may appoint advisors who, without pay, shall assist it in any of its work. In the Minimum Wage Act of 1913 the organization of an advisory board or boards is mandatory. Under these provisions, advisory committees have been organized in Wisconsin for the drafting of safety standards, apprenticeship rules, minimum wage orders, and the conduct of public employment offices. This advisory committee idea in connection with the administration of labor laws has spread to practically all other states. Several states have now made such advisory committees mandatory, among them Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania.

Wisconsin was not the first state to enact a child labor law and until 1903 was behind other states in this respect. Wisconsin today has as advanced a child labor law as any state and is believed to have the best enforced law in the country.

In one respect Wisconsin has made a dis-

tinct contribution to child labor legislation, namely, in developing a method through which workmen's compensation laws can serve as agencies for the enforcement of child labor laws. This is the treble compensation clause added to the Wisconsin compensation act in 1917, which gives minors injured while illegally employed three times the usual amount of compensation. This measure has done more to clean up child labor violations in Wisconsin than anything else, and the provision has already been copied in Oregon.

Wisconsin was one of the first eleven states which enacted workmen's compensation laws in 1911, and the Wisconsin law was the first of these eleven laws to become effective. (New York enacted a compensation law in 1910, but this was declared unconstitutional). The Wisconsin law from the date of its enactment was generally regarded as a model law. In the eleven years in which it has been effective, a considerable number of legislative committees from other states have come to Wisconsin to study our compensation law. The most recent visit of this kind was that of a Minnesota committee which resulted in the enactment of a new compensation law in that state in 1921, which in many of its provisions is identical with the Wisconsin law.

Wisconsin in its first compensation act of 1911 made it compulsory for employers under compensation to insure their risk, unless exempted from doing so by an order of the Industrial Commission. To protect employers against unfair practices by compensation insurance companies an anti-discrimination law was enacted in 1913. In 1917, Wisconsin cre-

ated a compensation insurance board, to regulate compensation insurance rates. This system of compensation insurance rates regulation has been copied in a number of states, most recently in the new compensation act of Minnesota, adopted in 1921.

Wisconsin is the only state in the union which has made an attempt to restore apprenticeship in industry. A law enacted in 1911 (greatly improved in 1915) provides that boys and girls who are learners in skilled trades must be indentured, under conditions approved by the state through the Industrial Commission. Under this law, Wisconsin employers are developing their own skilled mechanics, instead of depending upon Europe to furnish the skill needed in industry. While no other state has enacted a similar law, the Wisconsin experiment has attracted wide attention and has been commended by both employers and employes. A parliamentary committee in New South Wales recommended the enactment of an apprenticeship law on the Wisconsin model.

Wisconsin is the only state in the union which has prohibited all night work for women in manufacturies and laundries. This was done through an order of the Industrial Commission in 1917, adopted under the 1913 statute which made it the duty of the Industrial commission to determine what should be the hours of labor of women employees to safeguard their life, health, safety and welfare.

Wisconsin was one of the first three states which in 1907 enacted a full-crew law.

Wisconsin was also one of the first six states which in 1913 enacted a mandatory minimum

wage law. (Massachusetts in 1912 had provided for a minimum wage board with advisory powers only.)

Wisconsin was one of the states which during the early seventies enacted a so-called "Granger law", for the control of railway rates. This Wisconsin law was sustained as constitutional in a famous decision of Chief Justice Ryan, which was one of the earliest cases holding that public utilities are subject to regulation.

The Granger laws of the seventies were all repealed in a few years and replaced by laws providing for railroad commissions or departments with advisory powers only. Such an advisory railroad commission was established in Wisconsin in 1885. Not until 1905, however, did Wisconsin again have a railroad commission law providing for regulation of railway rates. The passage of such a law was urged by Governor La Follette in both 1901 and 1903, but was not placed upon the statute books until 1905. A large number of states had railroad commissions by that time, but most of these had no real power to control railway rates. The Wisconsin law at once became a model and was advertised through the country as the most complete law for the regulation of railway rates.

In 1907 Wisconsin placed all municipal public utilities including interurbans and power lines, under substantially the same regulations as railroads. New York enacted a similar law in the same year and these two laws were the first laws for the regulation of all public utilities enacted in this country. Practically all states have since enacted similar laws, provid-

ing for the regulation of public utilities either by the same commission which regulates railroads or by a separate public utility commission.

Wisconsin was one of the states which created an investigating committee when the great life insurance companies of New York City became involved in a scandal in 1905. From this investigation, developed legislation in 1907 which subjected life insurance companies to such strict regulation that twenty-three of the old line companies left the state. The regulatory laws, however, are still on the statute books with but minor changes, and are now generally acknowledged to be fair and reasonable. Likewise the fact that some of the foreign stock companies do not even now care to operate under Wisconsin laws, has not retarded the growth of life insurance in this state.

Wisconsin was the first state to establish a state life insurance fund in 1911, although Massachusetts a few years before had provided for life insurance to be handled by savings banks at cost. Both the Massachusetts and Wisconsin laws are still on the statute books, but the volume of insurance written under these laws has been negligible. Nor have other states copied this legislation.

The first kindergarten in the United States was opened in 1855 at Watertown, Wisconsin, by Mrs. Carl Schurz, who had been a pupil of Froebel, the founder of the system. The first kindergarten in the public school system in this state was established at Manitowoc.

The first commercial electric lighting plant in the United States began operating in Appleton, on August 20, 1882.

The Babcock milk tester was discovered and developed by Stephen Moulton Babcock in 1890. It is a method of determining in a simple manner the amount of butter fat in milk.

Wisconsin inventors are to be credited with the roller mill and the twine binder, the latter invented by John F. Appleby and the former by John Stevens of Neenah.

George Esterly should perhaps be credited with producing the first harvester. But it was Appleby who in 1858, when he was only 18 years old, made the first knotter that would really tie a knot. It was almost identical with the ones used today on binders sold throughout the world. The first practical demonstration of Appleby's machine was in the summer of 1877 at Beloit. The next year 115 self binders were built and sold. Appleby sold the right to make binders to several manufacturers, among the number Deering and McCormick of Chicago.

The roller mill invention of John Stevens first made it possible to grind the hardest wheat into the best of flour. It was this invention that has made Minneapolis the largest milling center in America.

C. Latham Sholes of Kenosha made the first typewriter in 1867. He organized a company to manufacture these machines, and in 1870 placed twelve of them on the market, and they were readily sold at $125 each. Three years later when the machine had been greatly improved, the company was moved to Illion, New York, and the manufacture of Remington Typewriters on an extensive scale was begun.

In the World War the first state and county councils of defense were organized here. The

strong opposition to the war in this state spurred up the pro-war element to put forth every effort in support of the conflict. In the four liberty loans and the Victory loan Wisconsin subscribed over $471,000,000. The governors of the Federal Reserve Bank recorded that Wisconsin oversubscribed her quota by a larger per cent than any other state in the district.

Wisconsin was the first state to pass legislation giving aid to soldiers' dependents, the first to inaugurate meatless and wheatless days; the first to give her soldiers the right to vote, and the first to organize state and county history commissions to preserve the records regarding war activities.

Professor Max Mason of the physics department of the university invented the famous submarine detector, a device by which submarines could be heard and definitely located so as to be kept away from, or destroyed with a depth bomb.

The public schools under the direction of state superintendent, C. P. Cary, were used as a means of distribution of information about the war, and in the encouragement of patriotic work. There were formed boys' defense leagues, junior Red Cross organizations and Thrift societies. And as the schools did so much to promote the war sentiment while the war was on, why should they not now be used to inculcate peace sentiment in the minds of our youth?

Wisconsin's capitol at Madison is one of few state capitols constructed without contracting any indebtedness. It is one of the most beautiful public buildings in the United States, and was built in accordance with plans

made by George B. Post & Son of New York. Construction was started in 1906, and the building was completed in 1917 at a cost of about seven and one-half million dollars.

Wisconsin abolished capital punishment in 1853. Prior to that time, Michigan abolished the death penalty in 1846, and Rhode Island in 1852.

Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman in The Spectator of December 7th, 1922, gives statistics as to homicides in the year 1921.

In this article homicide rates per 1,000 population are given for 28 large cities of the country, for which complete records for homicides are available since 1910. Among these 28 cities is Milwaukee. For the entire 28 cities the homicide rate per 1,000 population was 8.1% per year in the five year period, 1911-1915; 8.5% per year in the five year period, 1916-1920; and 9.3% in 1921. For Milwaukee this rate was 3.7% in the five years, 1911-1915; 3.6% in the five years, 1916-1920 and 3.6% in 1921. Of all the 28 cities, Milwaukee had the lowest homicide rate in 1921 except Hartford, Conn. In the preceding 10 years, 1911-1920 it had the lowest rate of all the cities listed except the cities of Redding and Rochester.

In this article Dr. Hoffman also gives statistics taken from the report of the causes of death. In states within the birth and death registration area for the five year period, 1916-1920, the compilation shows that the average annual homicide rate per 1,000 population in the entire registration area of the United States was 6.7%. In Wisconsin this average annual rate was 2.1%.

The only states among the 33 included with-

in the registration area which had a lower annual homicide rate than Wisconsin were Maine, 1.3%, and New Hampshire, 1.5%, while Vermont had the same rate as Wisconsin 2.1%. Of these states, Maine also has abolished capital punishment.

Wisconsin is as sound industrially as any state. This is shown for the urban population by the low rate of commercial and bank failures, and the great growth of savings invested in building and loan associations.

The percentage of commercial failures in Wisconsin have been smaller than the failures in the United States as a whole as shown by the Dunn and Bradstreet's reports.

In the 20 year period, 1903-22, the total number of banks and trust companies (including national banks) which failed in Wisconsin was ten, as shown by the report of the U. S. Comptroller. In the same period the number of banks which failed in Illinois was 108, in Iowa 76, in Michigan 48, and in Minnesota 62. The total number of banks is nearly the same in all these states.

The total of the savings invested in building and loan associations in Wisconsin increased from a per capita of $2.25 in 1910 to a per capita of $11.99 in 1920. In no other state was there such a great increase in the per capita savings in building and loan associations.

As regards Wisconsin's farmers, they are in better shape than the farmers in many other states. The Research Bureau of the American Farm Bureau Federation gives the total gross cash income of the farmers of the United States in 1922-23 as $8,479,000. As

there were 6,448,343 farms in the United States in 1920, this makes an average gross cash income of $1,314 per farm in 1922-23. The same Research Bureau gives the average gross income per farm of Wisconsin farmers in the same year, 1922-23, as $1,608. The income of Wisconsin farmers fell off less from the high peak in 1919-20 and shows a greater increase as compared with 1909-10 than the income of farmers throughout the country. As compared with a decline of 37 per cent in the gross cash income of farmers in the United States between 1919-20 and 1922-23, the decrease in the income of Wisconsin farmers was only 32 per cent; and as compared with an increase in farm income over 1909-10 of 56 per cent in the United States, there was an increase in farm income in Wisconsin in the same period of 83 per cent.

Between 1910-20 the population of Wisconsin increased 12.8 per cent. There was the same rate of increase exactly between 1900-10. For the entire United States the percentage of increase during the last decade was 14.9 per cent. Kenosha county increased its population by more than 50 per cent and six counties increased their population by between 25 and 50 per cent.

Of the total population of Wisconsin ten years of age and over, 50,397, or 2.4 per cent were listed as illiterate in the last census. This is a marked decrease as compared with 1910 when 3.2 per cent of the total population was illiterate. In the entire United States six per cent of the population was illiterate in 1920. Wisconsin had the smallest percentage of illiteracy of any state east of the Mississippi river.

While Wisconsin ranks above the average in the percentage of children who attend grade and rural schools, it is below the average in high school and college attendance.

Since 1909 Wisconsin has ranked tenth in the number of persons engaged in manufacture, in the value of manufactured products and in the value added by manufacturing, and eighth in the number of establishments and in capital investments.

Wisconsin in 1919 manufactured 76 per cent of all cheese produced in the United States, and in excess of 50 per cent of all canned peas. It ranked first in the combined value of butter, cheese and condensed milk and in the manufacture of hemlock, birch, elm, and basswood lumber, concrete mixers, planing mill machinery, traction engines and universal lathes.

Although a somewhat smaller number of persons were engaged in agriculture than in manufactures in Wisconsin in 1920, this state ranks among the foremost agricultural states. In land in farms, and in improved land in farms, Wisconsin ranks 17th, and in the value of all farm property 12th. It is the first state in the union in the value of dairy products.

The total value of all farm property in the state in 1920 was nearly $2,700,000,000. As compared with 1910, this is an increase of 89.5 per cent. During the last decade the average value per farm increased over 77 per cent, standing at $14,143 in 1920. This gives $128.78 as the average value of all farm property per acre in Wisconsin, of which $98.-78 represents the value of the land and buildings.

While there has been an increase of farm tenants during each decade since 1880, the percentage of tenancy is lower in Wisconsin than in the entire United States, being only 14.4 per cent as compared with 38.1 per cent in the nation. All north-central states have a larger percentage of tenancy than Wisconsin. Sixty per cent of all owned farms in Wisconsin were mortgaged in 1920, and the average debt per mortgaged farm had increased 92.4 per cent in ten years.

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